

853. A letter from the Acting Chairman, Federal Power Commission, transmitting a copy of its newly issued report entitled "The Financial Record of the Electric Utility Industry"; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. SABATH. Committee on Rules. House Resolution 444. Resolution providing for the consideration of H. R. 4649, a bill to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, without amendment (Rept. No. 1332). Referred to the House Calendar.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. MANSFIELD of Montana:

H. R. 4893. A bill to grant to enlisted personnel of the armed forces certain benefits in lieu of accumulated leave; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin:

H. R. 4894. A bill to amend the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, as amended, and to suspend all inductions thereunder; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. VINSON:

H. R. 4895. A bill to provide for the payment on a commuted basis of the costs of transportation of dependents of certain persons entitled to such transportation, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H. R. 4896. A bill to provide for payment of travel allowances and transportation, and for transportation of dependents and shipment of household effects, of members of the naval forces upon separation from active service, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mr. VURSELL:

H. R. 4897. A bill to amend Public Law 712, Seventy-seventh Congress, as amended, to provide for operation of its provisions (except title 1) in time of peace as well as in time of war; to eliminate the provisions relating to Federal ballots; and for other purposes; to the Committee on Election of President, Vice President, and Representatives in Congress.

By Mr. ANDERSON of California:

H. R. 4898. A bill relating to the unauthorized wearing of the discharge button awarded by the Army and Navy; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. PATTERSON:

H. R. 4899. A bill to establish a national housing policy and provide for its execution; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. ROE of New York:

H. R. 4900. A bill to clarify the terms "compensation" and "pension" under laws administered by the Veterans' Administration; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

H. R. 4901. A bill to facilitate filing and settlement of claims, and for other purposes; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

H. R. 4902. A bill to facilitate settlement of claims and for other purposes; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. ELLIS:

H. J. Res. 281. Joint resolution to direct and require the discharge of certain members of the armed forces, to prohibit the drafting of certain persons into the Army or Navy,

and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

H. J. Res. 282. Joint resolution to suspend further inductions under the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, as amended, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. ANGELL:

H. Con. Res. 106. Concurrent resolution to control and reduce world armaments and weapons designed for mass destruction of human life; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. COLMER:

H. Res. 455. Resolution authorizing the printing of additional copies of House Report No. 1205, current session, entitled "Economic Reconstruction in Europe," for the use of the Special Committee on Postwar Economic Policy and Planning; to the Committee on Printing.

By Mr. DWORSHAK:

H. Res. 466. Resolution to create a select committee to investigate lend-lease operations; to the Committee on Rules.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BURGIN:

H. R. 4903. A bill for the relief of Capt. Richard Reynolds Shoaf; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. LANHAM:

H. R. 4904. A bill for the relief of Cleo D. Johnson and Jack B. Cherry; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. LUDLOW:

H. R. 4905. A bill for the relief of Nina E. Schmidt; to the Committee on Claims.

By Mr. RIVERS:

H. R. 4906. A bill for the relief of Alice E. Pearce, Louise D. Tweed, and Mary Frances Hill; to the Committee on Claims.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

1370. By Mr. RICH: Petition of residents of Lock Haven and Clinton County, Pa., urging immediate release from the military and naval service of all fathers, regardless of age, rank, length of service, or number of children; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

1371. By the SPEAKER: Petition of Robert Edward Edmondson for consideration of his resolution with reference to redress of grievances, succor, and relief; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

SENATE

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 5, 1945

(Legislative day of Monday, October 29, 1945)

The Senate met at 12 o'clock meridian, on the expiration of the recess.

The Chaplain, Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Our Father God, who amidst all the traffic of our busy ways leadest our steps to this noontide sanctuary of the spirit, take Thou the dimness of our souls away; open our hearts that, facing our tasks with Thee, we may be of a quiet mind. A quenchless desire cries out within us that only Thyself canst satisfy. Without Thee we can find no light, nor rest, nor

strength. Like men who turn from dusty toil to crystal streams, like those who raise their eyes from foul and narrow city streets to the snow-clad whiteness of mountain peaks and to the steadfast calm of the friendly stars, so do we lift our gaze to the infinite sky of Thy mercy and to the beckoning hills of Thy help, as we link our hopes for all humankind to Thee who seest our little troubled hour as one to whom a thousand years are but as one day.

We ask it through riches of grace in Christ Jesus our Lord. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. HILL, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of the calendar day Tuesday, December 4, 1945, was dispensed with, and the Journal was approved.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT— APPROVAL OF BILLS

Messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Miller, one of his secretaries, and he announced that the President had approved and signed the following acts:

On December 4, 1945:

E. 1308. An act to amend article 6 of the Articles for the Government of the Navy.

On December 5, 1945:

S. 1364. An act to provide for the compromise and settlement by the Secretary of the Navy of certain claims for damage to property under the jurisdiction of the Navy Department, to provide for the execution of releases by the Secretary of the Navy upon payment of such claims, and for other purposes.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE—AMENDMENT TO UNRRA BILL

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to be excused for the remainder of the session today. I have official business to take care of in committee.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection? The Chair hears none, and the Senator from Nebraska is excused.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, while I am on my feet, I should like to make a statement regarding the consideration of the joint resolution appropriating additional funds for the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. I have an amendment which I intended to offer. In the event that consideration of the joint resolution has been concluded before I return to the floor, I should like to say to the Members of the Senate that I shall not offer the amendment, because I have been assured by my esteemed colleague from Tennessee, the acting chairman of the Appropriations Committee, and President pro tempore of the Senate, that the matter covered by the amendment will be discussed in conference and that the conferees will decide whether or not they will submit it to a vote of the Senate.

REQUEST FOR CONSIDERATION OF FEDERAL PAY BILL

Mr. DOWNEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that upon completion of action on the UNRRA appropriation measure and the Philippine appropriation bill, Senate bill 1415, the Fed-

eral pay bill, shall become the unfinished business of the Senate.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection?

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, I shall feel constrained to object to any unanimous-consent agreement being entered into at this time. I think there ought to be at least a quorum call and a substantially larger membership upon the floor before any agreement is made as to the legislative program.

Mr. DOWNEY. Very well. I cheerfully accede.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Did the Chair understand the Senator from Maine to make the point that there was not a quorum present?

Mr. WHITE. I objected to the unanimous-consent request and one of the reasons I assigned—there are other reasons—was that there is not a quorum now present.

PROPOSED PROVISION RELATING TO AN EXISTING APPROPRIATION FOR PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE (S. DOC. NO. 118)

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate a communication from the President of the United States, transmitting a proposed provision relating to an existing appropriation for the Public Health Service, Federal Security Agency, as an amendment to House Document

364, which, with the accompanying paper, was referred to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

PETITION

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate a resolution adopted by the New York Federation of Chiropractors, Inc., Unit No. 2, Brooklyn-Richmond district, favoring the entry of certain Jews into Palestine and the establishment of a commonwealth in the Holy Land, which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

ENROLLED BILL PRESENTED

The Secretary of the Senate reported that on December 4, 1945, he presented to the President of the United States the enrolled bill (S. 1493) to authorize the head of the postgraduate school of the United States Navy to confer masters and doctors degrees in engineering and related fields.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON NAVAL AFFAIRS

Mr. WALSH, from the Committee on Naval Affairs, to which was referred the bill (S. 50) to permit settlement of accounts of deceased officers and enlisted men of the Navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard, and of deceased commissioned officers of the Public Health Service, without administration of estates, re-

ported it with an amendment and submitted a report (No. 814) thereon.

PERSONS EMPLOYED BY COMMITTEES WHO ARE NOT FULL-TIME SENATE OR COMMITTEE EMPLOYEES

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate reports for the month of November 1945 from the chairman of certain committees, in response to Senate Resolution 319 (78th Cong.), relative to persons employed by committees who are not full-time employees of the Senate or any committee thereof, which were ordered to lie on the table and to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

UNITED STATES SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY,
December 1, 1945.

HON. KENNETH MCKELLAR,
President pro tempore of the Senate,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Pursuant to Senate Resolution 319, I am transmitting herewith a list of employees of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee who are not full-time employees of the Senate. Included with this list is the name and address of each such employee, the name and address of the department paying the salary of such employee, and the annual rate of compensation for each such employee.

Respectfully yours,
ROBERT F. WAGNER,
Chairman, Banking and
Currency Committee.

SENATE BANKING AND CURRENCY COMMITTEE

Name of individual	Address	Name and address of department or agency by whom paid	Annual rate of compensation
Bertram Gross.....	613 South Quincey St., Arlington, Va.	Reconstruction Finance Corporation.....	\$8,750
Doris Phippen ¹	40 Plattsbury Court NW., Washington, D. C.	Navy Department.....	2,650
Eve Zidel.....	24-C Crescent Rd., Greenbelt, Md.	Reconstruction Finance Corporation.....	2,650

¹ Temporarily borrowed from Surplus Property Subcommittee (S. Res. 120).

SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO STUDY AND SURVEY PROBLEMS OF SMALL BUSINESS ENTERPRISES

DECEMBER 1, 1945.

To the Senate:

The above-mentioned committee hereby submits the following report showing the

names of persons employed by the committee who are not full-time employees of the Senate or of the committee for the month of November 1945, in compliance with the terms

of Senate Resolution 319, agreed to August 23, 1944:

Name of individual	Address	Name and address of department or organization by whom paid	Annual rate of compensation
Herman Edelsberg.....	2141 Suitland Terrace SE., Washington, D. C.	Foreign Economic Administration, Washington, D. C.	\$7,175
Harry J. Evans.....	3010 Gainesville St. SE., Washington, D. C.	Reconstruction Finance Corporation, Washington, D. C.	7,175
F. Preston Forbes.....	502 Four Mile Rd., Alexandria, Va.	Commerce Department, Washington, D. C.	7,175
Scott K. Gray, Jr.....	119 Joliet St. SW., Washington, D. C.	Reconstruction Finance Corporation, Washington, D. C.	5,390
Stella J. Grooper.....	1127 Branch Ave. SE., Washington, D. C.	do.....	2,980
Lt. George H. Soule.....	4020 Beecher St. NW., Washington, D. C.	Navy Department, Washington, D. C.	2,400
L. Evelyn Spicer.....	1708 Kilbourne Pl. NW., Washington, D. C.	Reconstruction Finance Corporation, Washington, D. C.	3,090
Fredk. W. Steckman.....	4000 Cathedral Ave. NW., Washington, D. C.	Maritime Commission, Washington, D. C.	5,600
Margie L. Strubel.....	4632 12th St. NE., Washington, D. C.	Reconstruction Finance Corporation, Washington, D. C.	2,320
Allen G. Thurman.....	9729 Bexhill Drive, Rock Creek Hills, Md.	Maritime Commission, Washington, D. C.	7,175

JAMES E. MURRAY, Chairman.

MISSOURI VALLEY AUTHORITY—VIEWS OF MR. LANGER (PT. 2 OF REPT. NO. 639)

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to file the individual views of myself as a member of the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation on the bill (S. 555) to establish a Missouri Valley Authority to provide for unified water control and resource development on the Missouri River and surrounding region in the interest of the control and prevention of floods, the

promotion of navigation and reclamation of the public lands, the promotion of family-type farming, the development of the recreational possibilities and the promotion of the general welfare of the area, the strengthening of the national defense, and for other purposes.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the views will be received and printed.

BILL INTRODUCED

A bill and joint resolution were introduced, and the bill was read the first

time, and, by unanimous consent, the second time, and referred as follows:

By Mr. WILSON (for himself and Mr. HICKENLOOPER):

S. 1660. A bill to revive and reenact the act entitled "An act creating the City of Clinton Bridge Commission and authorizing said commission and its successors to acquire by purchase or condemnation and to construct, maintain, and operate a bridge or bridges across the Mississippi River at or near Clinton, Iowa, and at or near Fulton, Ill.," approved December 21, 1944; to the Committee on Commerce.

(Mr. McKELLAR reported an original joint resolution (S. J. Res. 125) making an appropriation for contingent expenses of the Senate, which was passed, and appears under a separate heading.)

AMENDMENT OF SECOND WAR POWERS ACT, 1942—AMENDMENTS

Mr. HAYDEN (for himself and Mr. RUSSELL) submitted amendments intended to be proposed by them, jointly, to the bill (H. R. 4780) to amend the Second War Powers Act, 1942, as amended, which were referred to the Committee on the Judiciary and ordered to be printed.

FEDERAL AID FOR HOSPITALS AND PUBLIC HEALTH CENTERS—AMENDMENTS

Mr. MURRAY (for himself and Mr. WAGNER) submitted amendments intended to be proposed by them, jointly, to the bill (S. 191) to amend the Public Health Service Act to authorize grants to the States for surveying their hospitals and public health centers and for planning construction of additional facilities, and to authorize grants to assist in such construction, which were ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

STUDY AND SURVEY OF THE PROBLEMS OF AMERICAN SMALL BUSINESS ENTERPRISES—LIMIT OF EXPENDITURES

Mr. MURRAY submitted the following resolution (S. Res. 199), which was referred to the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate:

Resolved, That the limit of expenditures under Senate Resolution 298, Seventy-sixth Congress (providing for a study and survey of the problems of American small business enterprises), agreed to October 8, 1940, as heretofore extended and supplemented, is hereby increased by \$187,800.

DISCHARGE OF SERVICEMEN

Mr. O'DANIEL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the RECORD four letters from members of the military forces and one letter from the mother of a serviceman expressing resentment and indignation at the slow manner in which the men who are eligible for discharge are really being discharged. For obvious reasons I am withholding the names of those writing the letters.

There being no objection, the letters were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NOVEMBER 15, 1945.

DEAR SIR: At present I'm stationed on the island of Leyte waiting my turn to return to the United States along with several thousand other soldiers, and due to the present difficulties in transportation I'm writing you, for I think it's time our Senators and Representatives look into this situation instead of taking high-ranking Army and Navy officials' word for smooth operation of the "magic carpet" which in my estimation is so much propaganda and "boloney" for civilian consumption. I'm wondering if you men in Washington know what's really going on, or are you listening to what the radio and newspapers are saying in favor of prompt and excellent movements of veteran troops.

As a slight example: I have been overseas only a short 17 months as a troop-carrier pilot, and in that time have flown 1,100 hours through every kind of bad weather that you can imagine, and in my Army career have accumulated 117 points under the adjusted service rating. So far they've helped none;

however, according to the radio, I've been home a couple of months and am already out of the Army. On the radio last night it was announced that men with 70 points were being returned from this theater already, and I know what packs of lies are being released to the public in this respect. Thirty days ago, October 15, 1945, I finally succeeded in getting my orders to return to the United States, at that time there were 331 officers ahead of me. Today, 30 days later, only 79 officers and about 1,500 enlisted men have been shipped out. This is far from being satisfactory, and there is no improvement as time goes on. So I think it's about time you men in Washington with some power and authority start looking into this situation and try to get some action started to alleviate this situation.

About a week ago I got permission from a skipper of a small ship to ride back to the United States with him and went to get permission; however, it was strictly forbidden as unauthorized transportation. So far as I know the ship pulled out completely empty when a few men could have ridden home that way. The shipping space that is available certainly isn't being utilized, and a little here and there goes a long way in the end.

To top things off, Japanese prisoners are being sent out of this harbor on American ships back to their homeland while we sit around and wait. I can't give the exact number that have been shipped out, nor the ship numbers, but I know it's going on. For this I quote from Maptalk volume IV, No. 23, published by I and E Section, GHQ, AFWESPAC, October 31, 1945: "The United States Army forces in the western Pacific disclosed that, to save feeding costs, 13,800 Japanese prisoners of war in the Philippines would be repatriated by mid-January. Many in Liberty ships."

Senator, this isn't a joke to any of us, for God only knows how we want to get home to our families and children that we've not seen in such a long time. It would be nice to be home for Christmas once more, but apparently our Government doesn't give a damn if we sit over here and rot or not. There's nothing we can do over here, and only you men in Washington can help now, for patience and time is relieving nothing.

As long as I'm in the Army, I can say nothing, but the day after I'm discharged, if that day ever arrives, I'm going to turn over plenty of facts and figures to Texas newspapers so maybe they'll be published and let a few of our people see what really went on.

I'm sure that you've received several other letters similar to this in the past few months, and I'm hoping that some way, somehow you can help us that are trying to get home.

Sincerely yours.

NOVEMBER 12, 1945.

Senator W. LEE O'DANIEL,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: How long does one certain group of men have to tolerate the unfairness and even persecution of the Army bureaucracy? This group consists of unfortunate doctors of the Medical Corps stationed over here in the Pacific.

I and many others have adequate points for discharge as of September 2, but not quite enough to be the first on the lists. We wait our turn for orders. Finally our bracket is reached and what happens—AFWESPAC freezes all medical officers. So orders continue to come on officers with fewer points and we are as helpless as a prisoner of war. Even if there were a shortage of doctors over here, does this mean that we of this minority have to write ourselves off as unfortunates whom chance has dropped here? Why can't the misery be shared by all?

I formerly practiced medicine in Dallas, Tex. I'm married and have one child. I've

been overseas 20 months and have 81 points with 3 combat stars to my credit.

The rumor is that even though we are eligible for discharge, we are going to be here several months yet, and of course the command is too great and too busy to tell us why we are frozen and for how long. No; the sadists lean back in their chairs and chuckle with joy at the rumors they know to be false because they enjoy seeing some lesser ranked individual going progressively insane over here.

Don't let anyone tell you, sir, there is a shortage of shipping either. We can find enough ships to take Japs home at the rate of 1,000 a day. We have enough ships to take Aussie women to the United States. We have enough ships to hold a huge pageant in all United States ports. We have enough ships to carry a few Chinese armies into a politically rotten China. We have so many ships that daily we can send them home with ballast—yes, empty.

Respectfully yours.

NOVEMBER 15, 1945.

Hon. W. LEE O'DANIEL,
Senator from Texas, Washington, D. C.

SIR: We are concerned over the loss of prestige that the Army has suffered since VJ-day, due solely to the Army's failure to adhere to the publicized point system. We are equally concerned with the forced separation from our families.

Surely, the War Department must know that an embittered bloc of veterans will oppose any policy for future defense simply because there will be a lack of faith in the military, the persons responsible for the current redeployment confusion. Is it cause for astonishment that the American people are opposed to large appropriations for defense during peacetime?

Paradoxically, the men charged with our country's defense are most instrumental in guaranteeing a lack of armaments in the future years. Now, more than ever before, when the citizenry should be conscious of the need for preparedness, the present men in charge are laying the ground work for the same situation that existed in our country following the last war.

We declare it to be the responsibility of our elected Representatives to be cognizant of the above-mentioned facts and not fail their duty toward our children and children to be.

Of course, our basic complaint underlying this letter is our desire to return home, but these desires are intimately correlated with the argument we have presented.

The men who are signed below are all veterans of long duty in the Southwest Pacific and ask nothing more than a thoughtful perusal of our letter.

Sincerely yours.

GALVESTON, TEX., November 19, 1945.

Hon. W. LEE O'DANIEL,
United States Senator, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR: I don't know whether I'm out of order in writing you about this, but I trust I'm not. know you're probably swamped with just such letters, so I don't feel one more will bother you. I know I wouldn't write such a letter if I didn't feel that something was radically wrong with the discharge of soldiers who are not serving any useful purpose, now that the fighting is over, but it don't look any too bright the way talk is going round about a third world war.

My son is in Leyte, in the Philippines. He writes that his unit is absolutely idle, doing nothing at all; ships leave there empty, when they could be taking men back to the States. His unit has made a baseball diamond; they play rummy, have cock fights, and in general, they're getting pretty moody, with nothing to do; surely the Government shouldn't want to waste money on men who can't, through no fault of their own, make a return in work of some sort.

One major in this unit has made a still, and detaching a soldier to guard it. Even though a soldier may have a pass, he's not allowed to be away more than 6 hours, and yet the officers set the example of having drinking parties and dances. Don't they know that the soldier will be full of resentment against being in the Army?

Now I'm not asking that my son be sent back home and discharged, if he is needed.

I'm not asking that you do anything for him alone, but something should be done to help unnecessary men to get back into useful jobs, before they learn to detest the Army and all its implications. I'd like some advice that I can pass on to my son, who in turn can pass on to his buddies. They feel that they are now deserted and left to fiddle around, doing nothing.

Yours very truly,

KYUSHU, JAPAN, November 13, 1945.

DEAR SENATOR AND FRIEND: As a marine who came from Texas, if it is possible I would like a favor from you. All we can hear on the radio is thousands of men on strike. Isn't there something you can do about it. There are thousands of us marines here in Japan who would be glad to work for the wages they get now. We draw around \$50 a month and have to be pleased with it.

What would have happened if we had set down 2 or 3 years ago? The people of the United States might have been working for the Japs at 30 cents a day.

It is my opinion and the opinion of a million other servicemen that have been over here for 2 years, to send the men that want to strike over here to occupy the country that our buddies and brothers died for and let us work for we feel like our Government can and will keep the wages at the right scale.

I also am one of thousands who has a child that is 17 months old that I haven't seen. I have over 50 points and want to go home, but till my job is done I won't be crying for someone has to stay here and straighten this country out, so we can live in peace in the future to come.

Sir, I just feel that you are the one that can do something—as a hundred thousand Texans put you in for our State and they can't be wrong. Maybe we just don't know what it's all about. It just doesn't make sense when we get the news that our ships are having to wait for repairs so they can carry us to our loved ones and to the "good ole" United States of America that we love. So, sir, our feelings should be known throughout the United States of America. May I thank you.

Yours truly,

ADDRESS BY THE AMBASSADOR FROM MEXICO

[Mr. O'DANIEL asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an address delivered by His Excellency, Dr. Antonio Espinosa de Los Monteros, Ambassador from Mexico, at a dinner in his honor at the New York Board of Trade and the Mexican Chamber of Commerce of the United States, at the Hotel Plaza, New York, November 28, 1945, which appears in the Appendix.]

THEY CALL IT PEACE—EDITORIAL FROM THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE

[Mr. LANGER asked and obtained leave to have printed in the RECORD an editorial entitled "They Call It Peace," from the Chicago Tribune of December 3, 1945, which appears in the Appendix.]

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Swanson, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House had passed without amendment the following bills and joint resolution of the Senate:

S. 684. An act for the relief of Ida M. Raney;

S. 779. An act for the relief of Mrs. Alan Sells and the estate of Alan Sells;

S. 998. An act for the relief of Gregory Stelmak;

S. 1017. An act for the relief of Charlie B. Rouse and Mrs. Louette Rouse;

S. 1117. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to convey Casa Dorinda Estate in Santa Barbara County, Calif., to Robert Woods Bliss and Mildred B. Bliss;

S. 1122. An act for the relief of Charles Bryan; and

S. J. Res. 51. Joint resolution granting permission to Charles Rex Marchant, Lorne E. Sasseen, and Jack Veniss Bassett to accept certain medals tendered them by the Government of Canada in the name of His Britannic Majesty, King George VI.

The message also announced that the House had passed the bill (S. 801) for the relief of Joseph A. Hannon and Eleanor M. Hannon, with amendments, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate.

The message further announced that the House had agreed to the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 2930) for the relief of Dr. J. D. Whiteside and St. Luke's Hospital.

The message also announced that the House had agreed to the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 3390) for the relief of the estate of Thomas McGarroll.

The message further announced that the House had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendment of the House to the bill (S. 693) for the relief of the Saunders Memorial Hospital.

The message also announced that the House had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the House to the bill (S. 1064) to authorize the discharge of midshipmen from the United States Naval Academy by the Secretary of the Navy because of unsatisfactory conduct or aptitude.

The message further announced that the House had agreed to the report of the committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 1862) relating to the rank of chiefs of bureaus in the Navy Department, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the House had disagreed to the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 874) for the relief of L. Wilmoth Hodges; asked a conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and that Mr. McGEHEE, Mr. COMBS, and Mr. JENNINGS were appointed managers on the part of the House at the conference.

The message further announced that the House had disagreed to the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 1457) for the relief of Josephine Benham, asked a conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and that Mr. McGEHEE, Mr. JENNINGS, and Mr. COMBS were appointed managers on the part of the House at the conference.

The message also announced that the House had disagreed to the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 2335) for

the relief of Albert E. Severns; asked a conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and that Mr. McGEHEE, Mr. HOOK, and Mr. PITTENGER were appointed managers on the part of the House at the conference.

The message further announced that the House had disagreed to the amendment of the Senate to the bill (H. R. 2835) for the relief of James Lynch; asked a conference with the Senate on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and that Mr. McGEHEE, Mr. COMBS, and Mr. PITTENGER were appointed managers on the part of the House at the conference.

The message also announced that the House had passed the following bills, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate:

H. R. 207. An act for the relief of Edgar Kalgler;

H. R. 215. An act for the relief of Virginia Packard;

H. R. 233. An act for the relief of Hamsah Omar.

H. R. 247. An act for the relief of E. D. Williams;

H. R. 873. An act for the relief of Mrs. Bessie S. Edmonds;

H. R. 915. An act for the relief of Fairview School District No. 90, Pratt County, Kans.;

H. R. 919. An act for the relief of Gladys Elvira Maurer;

H. R. 948. An act conferring jurisdiction upon the District Court of the United States for the Northern District of California, Northern Division, to hear, determine, and render judgment upon the claims of all persons for reimbursement for damages and losses sustained as a result of a flood which occurred in December 1937 in levee district No. 10, Yuba County, Calif.;

H. R. 1250. An act for the relief of Roy S. Councilman;

H. R. 1251. An act for the relief of the Irvine Co.;

H. R. 1315. An act for the relief of E. Bendino;

H. R. 1348. An act for the relief of estate of Gordon T. Gorham, and others.

H. R. 1464. An act for the relief of Leonard Hutchings;

H. R. 1615. An act for the relief of the legal guardians of John Buchan and Lawrence Gillingham, minors;

H. R. 1667. An act for the relief of Mrs. Clara M. Fortner;

H. R. 1796. An act for the relief of Mr. and Mrs. J. L. Lamb;

H. R. 1836. An act for the relief of Viola Theriaque;

H. R. 1848. An act for the relief of Max Hirsch;

H. R. 1854. An act for the relief of Thomas Sumner;

H. R. 1879. An act for the relief of Rev. Neal Dewese, Mrs. Minnie Dewese, Raymond Dewese, and the estate of Lon Thurman, deceased;

H. R. 1918. An act for the relief of Eleanor Parkinson;

H. R. 2062. An act for the relief of Dave Topper;

H. R. 2087. An act for the relief of Mrs. Mary H. Overall and Thomas I. Baker;

H. R. 2091. An act for the relief of Joseph E. Bennett;

H. R. 2168. An act for the relief of Charles Zucker;

H. R. 2171. An act for the relief of Solomon Schtierman;

H. R. 2251. An act for the relief of Catherine V. Sweeney;

H. R. 2270. An act for the relief of Harry C. Westover;

H. R. 2289. An act for the relief of Arnold Mecham;

H. R. 2318. An act for the relief of Mrs. Mertie Pike and the estate of Mrs. Burnice Smotherman, deceased;

H. R. 2393. An act for the relief of Elsie Peter;

H. R. 2546. An act for the relief of Salvador Lorenz Fernandez;

H. R. 2644. An act for the relief of Eli Richmond;

H. R. 2661. An act for the relief of W. D. Jones and Ethel S. Jones;

H. R. 2670. An act for the relief of the legal guardian of Kathleen Lawton McGuire;

H. R. 2688. An act to confer jurisdiction upon the United States Court of Claims to hear, determine, and render judgment upon the claim of Honolulu Plantation Co.;

H. R. 2724. An act for the relief of the legal guardian of Forest Eldon Powell;

H. R. 2728. An act for the relief of R. H. Sindle;

H. R. 2769. An act for the relief of C. Frank James;

H. R. 2809. An act for the relief of Theodore Maudrame;

H. R. 2837. An act for the relief of George Stiles;

H. R. 2884. An act for the relief of B. H. Spann;

H. R. 2887. An act for the relief of Joseph Mrak;

H. R. 2901. An act for the relief of Mrs. Janet McKillip;

H. R. 2927. An act for the relief of Mrs. Evelyn Merritt;

H. R. 2963. An act for the relief of William Phillips;

H. R. 2974. An act for the relief of the estate of Bobby Messick;

H. R. 3012. An act for the relief of George W. Murrell and Kirby Murrell, a minor;

H. R. 3052. An act for the relief of Mary Elizabeth Montague;

H. R. 3124. An act for the relief of Mrs. Gisella Sante;

H. R. 3229. An act for the relief of Mrs. Leslie Price, Philip C. Price, Mrs. Louise Keyton, Annie Curry, and James Curry;

H. R. 3277. An act for the relief of Mrs. Katie Sanders;

H. R. 3285. An act for the relief of Capt. Wayne E. Meisenheimer;

H. R. 3454. An act for the relief of William Clyde McKinney;

H. R. 3514. An act for the relief of the legal guardian of Olga Stanik, a minor;

H. R. 3554. An act for the relief of Fred C. Litter;

H. R. 3641. An act for the relief of M. Martin Turpanjian;

H. R. 3677. An act for the relief of J. Tom Stephenson;

H. R. 3698. An act for the relief of Mrs. Lucille Scarlett and Charles Scarlett;

H. R. 3725. An act for the relief of Miss Jacqueline Friedrich;

H. R. 3765. An act for the relief of Herman Trahn;

H. R. 3784. An act for the relief of C. H. Brumfield;

H. R. 3787. An act for the relief of Natale Piavallo, also known as Natale Kiecleck;

H. R. 3791. An act for the relief of Mrs. Florence Mersman;

H. R. 3808. An act for the relief of the estate of William N. Therriault and Millicent Therriault;

H. R. 3834. An act for the relief of Mrs. Eunice C. Hardage;

H. R. 3904. An act for the relief of Raymond C. Campbell;

H. R. 4116. An act for the relief of M. R. Stone;

H. R. 4117. An act for the relief of Franklin P. Radcliffe;

H. R. 4240. An act for the relief of Frank E. Wilmot;

H. R. 4249. An act for the relief of Lucy Delgado and Irma M. Delgado;

H. R. 4289. An act for the relief of Ida Barger, Hazel A. Beecher, Etta Clark, Jesse

Ruth France, John W. Nolan, Anna Palubicki, and Frank J. Schrom;

H. R. 4381. An act for the relief of Frantisek Jiri Pavlik or Georg Pavlik; and

H. R. 4421. An act to increase the permanent authorized enlisted strength of the active list of the Regular Navy and Marine Corps, to increase the permanent authorized number of commissioned officers of the active list of the line of the Regular Navy, and to authorize permanent appointments in the Regular Navy and Marine Corps, and for other purposes.

HOUSE BILLS REFERRED

The following bills were severally read twice by their titles and referred, as indicated:

H. R. 207. An act for the relief of Edgar Kaigler;

H. R. 215. An act for the relief of Virginia Packard;

H. R. 247. An act for the relief of E. D. Williams;

H. R. 873. An act for the relief of Mrs. Bessie S. Edmonds;

H. R. 915. An act for the relief of Fairview School District, No. 90, Pratt County, Kans.;

H. R. 919. An act for the relief of Gladys Elvira Maurer;

H. R. 948. An act conferring jurisdiction upon the District Court of the United States for the Northern District of California, northern division, to hear, determine, and render judgment upon the claims of all persons for reimbursement for damages and losses sustained as a result of a flood which occurred in December 1937 in levee district No. 10, Yuba County, Calif.;

H. R. 1250. An act for the relief of Roy S. Councilman;

H. R. 1251. An act for the relief of the Irvine Co.;

H. R. 1315. An act for the relief of B. Pendino;

H. R. 1348. An act for the relief of estate of Gordon T. Gorham, and others;

H. R. 1464. An act for the relief of Leonard Hutchings;

H. R. 1615. An act for the relief of the legal guardians of John Buchan and Lawrence Gillingham, minors;

H. R. 1667. An act for the relief of Mrs. Clara M. Fortner;

H. R. 1796. An act for the relief of Mr. and Mrs. J. L. Lamb;

H. R. 1836. An act for the relief of Viola Theriaque;

H. R. 1848. An act for the relief of Max Hirsch;

H. R. 1854. An act for the relief of Thomas Sumner;

H. R. 1879. An act for the relief of Rev. Neal Dewese, Mrs. Minnie Dewese, Raymond Dewese, and the estate of Lon Thurman, deceased;

H. R. 1918. An act for the relief of Eleanor Parkinson;

H. R. 2062. An act for the relief of Dave Topper;

H. R. 2087. An act for the relief of Mrs. Mary H. Overall and Thomas I. Baker;

H. R. 2091. An act for the relief of Joseph E. Bennett;

H. R. 2168. An act for the relief of Charles Zucker;

H. R. 2171. An act for the relief of Solomon Schtierman;

H. R. 2251. An act for the relief of Catherine V. Sweeney;

H. R. 2270. An act for the relief of Harry C. Westover;

H. R. 2289. An act for the relief of Arnold Mecham;

H. R. 2318. An act for the relief of Mrs. Mertie Pike and the estate of Mrs. Burnice S. otherman, deceased;

H. R. 2393. An act for the relief of Elsie Peter;

H. R. 2644. An act for the relief of Eli Richmond;

H. R. 2661. An act for the relief of W. D. Jones and Ethel S. Jones;

H. R. 2670. An act for the relief of the legal guardian of Kathleen Lawton McGuire;

H. R. 2688. An act to confer jurisdiction upon the United States Court of Claims to hear, determine, and render judgment upon the claim of Honolulu Plantation Co.;

H. R. 2724. An act for the relief of the legal guardian of Forest Eldon Powell;

H. R. 2728. An act for the relief of R. H. Sindle;

H. R. 2769. An act for the relief of C. Frank James;

H. R. 2837. An act for the relief of George Stiles;

H. R. 2884. An act for the relief of B. H. Spann;

H. R. 2887. An act for the relief of Joseph Mrak;

H. R. 2901. An act for the relief of Mrs. Janet McKillip;

H. R. 2927. An act for the relief of Mrs. Evelyn Merritt;

H. R. 2963. An act for the relief of William Phillips;

H. R. 2974. An act for the relief of the estate of Bobby Messick;

H. R. 3012. An act for the relief of George W. Murrell and Kirby Murrell, a minor;

H. R. 3052. An act for the relief of Mary Elizabeth Montague;

H. R. 3124. An act for the relief of Mrs. Gisella Sante;

H. R. 3229. An act for the relief of Mrs. Leslie Price, Philip C. Price, Mrs. Louise Keyton, Annie Curry, and James Curry;

H. R. 3277. An act for the relief of Mrs. Katie Sanders;

H. R. 3285. An act for the relief of Capt. Wayne E. Meisenheimer;

H. R. 3454. An act for the relief of William Clyde McKinney;

H. R. 3514. An act for the relief of the legal guardian of Olga Stanik, a minor;

H. R. 3554. An act for the relief of Fred C. Litter;

H. R. 3641. An act for the relief of M. Martin Turpanjian;

H. R. 3677. An act for the relief of J. Tom Stephenson;

H. R. 3698. An act for the relief of Mrs. Lucille Scarlett and Charles Scarlett;

H. R. 3725. An act for the relief of Miss Jacqueline Friedrich;

H. R. 3791. An act for the relief of Mrs. Florence Mersman;

H. R. 3808. An act for the relief of the estate of William N. Therriault and Millicent Therriault;

H. R. 3834. An act for the relief of Mrs. Eunice C. Hardage;

H. R. 3904. An act for the relief of Raymond C. Campbell;

H. R. 4116. An act for the relief of M. R. Stone;

H. R. 4117. An act for the relief of Franklin P. Radcliffe;

H. R. 4240. An act for the relief of Frank E. Wilmot;

H. R. 4249. An act for the relief of Lucy Delgado and Irma M. Delgado; and

H. R. 4269. An act for the relief of Ida Barger, Hazel A. Beecher, Etta Clark, Jesse Ruth France, John W. Nolan, Anna Palubicki, and Frank J. Schrom; to the Committee on Claims.

H. R. 233. An act for the relief of Hamsah Omar;

H. R. 2546. An act for the relief of Salvador Lorenz Fernandez;

H. R. 2809. An act for the relief of Theodore Maudrame;

H. R. 3765. An act for the relief of Herman Trahn;

H. R. 3784. An act for the relief of C. H. Brumfield;

H. R. 3787. An act for the relief of Natale Piavallo, also known as Natale Kiecleck; and

H. R. 4381. An act for the relief of Frantisek Jiri Pavlik or Georg Pavlik; to the Committee on Immigration.

H. R. 4421. An act to increase the permanent authorized enlisted strength of the active list of the Regular Navy and Marine Corps, to increase the permanent authorized number of commissioned officers of the active list of the line of the Regular Navy, and to authorize permanent appointments in the Regular Navy and Marine Corps, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

ADDITIONAL APPROPRIATION FOR THE UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION

The Senate resumed the consideration of the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 266) making an additional appropriation for the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I think we should have a quorum present before we take up the bill, so I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. MAYBANK in the chair). The clerk will call the roll.

The Chief Clerk called the roll, and the following Senators answered to their names:

Austin	Guffey	O'Daniel
Ball	Gurney	Overton
Bankhead	Hart	Radcliffe
Barkley	Hawkes	Reed
Bilbo	Hayden	Revercomb
Brewster	Hickenlooper	Russell
Bridges	Hill	Saltonstall
Briggs	Hoy	Shipstead
Brooks	Huffman	Smith
Buck	Johnson, Colo.	Stanfill
Bushfield	Johnston, S. C.	Stewart
Butler	Kilgore	Taft
Byrd	Knowland	Taylor
Capehart	La Follette	Thomas, Utah
Capper	Langer	Tunnell
Carville	Lucas	Tydings
Chavez	McClellan	Vandenberg
Connally	McKellar	Wagner
Donnell	McMahon	Walsh
Downey	Magnuson	Wheeler
Eastland	Maybank	Wherry
Ellender	Mead	White
Ferguson	Millikin	Wiley
Fulbright	Mitchell	Willis
George	Moore	Wilson
Gerry	Murdoch	Young
Gossett	Murray	
Green	Myers	

Mr. HILL. I announce that the Senator from Virginia [Mr. GLASS] is absent because of illness.

The Senator from Arizona [Mr. McFARLAND] is absent because of illness in his family.

The Senator from Florida [Mr. ANDREWS] and the Senator from North Carolina [Mr. BAILEY] are necessarily absent.

The Senator from New Mexico [Mr. HATCH], the Senator from Nevada [Mr. McCARRAN], the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. O'MAHONEY], and the Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. THOMAS] are detained on public business.

The Senator from Florida [Mr. PEPPER] is absent on official business.

Mr. WHERRY. The Senator from Vermont [Mr. AIKEN] has been excused. He is necessarily absent.

The Senator from Oregon [Mr. CORDON] is absent on official business as heretofore stated.

The Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE] and the Senator from Wyoming [Mr. ROBERTSON] are absent on official business. They have been excused.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Eighty-two Senators having answered to their names, a quorum is present.

The clerk will state the first committee amendment.

The first amendment of the Committee on Appropriations was, on page 2, line 2, after the figures "1947", to strike out the colon and the following: "Provided further, That, insofar as possible and practicable, agricultural commodities determined by the Secretary of Agriculture to be in surplus supply shall be utilized in filling United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration requisitions for food and agricultural commodities."

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I ask Senators to listen to a statement in explanation of the joint resolution which will take but a few moments. In March 1944 Congress passed a bill authorizing an appropriation of \$1,350,000,000 for what is known as UNRRA. In June of that year we appropriated \$800,000,000 in furtherance of that authorization. The pending measure simply appropriates the balance of the authorization, amounting to \$550,000,000.

When this joint resolution was before the House the House placed in it a number of amendments, some of them apparently legislation and some of them not. The Appropriations Committee of the Senate has stricken out all those amendments and has confirmed the joint resolution simply to carrying out what America undertook to do when Congress passed the \$1,350,000,000 authorization bill. The joint resolution as reported from the Senate committee contains no House amendments at all. For instance, I call attention to the principal amendment of the House, which is what is known as the publicity provision, intended to keep the people of the United States fully and properly informed as to the need for and the use of the relief and aid furnished by UNRRA. The Senate committee thought that was a matter which ought to come up when the next UNRRA authorization bill is considered, and that such a provision should not be attached to the pending measure.

The appropriation carried in the pending joint resolution is a part of the authorization made last year. It is our duty to make good that authorization. Of course, there has been much criticism of UNRRA, but without regard to that, the United States Government has promised inferentially, at any rate, to appropriate \$1,350,000,000 for relief purposes, and the joint resolution as reported by the Senate committee striking out all the amendments which the House placed in the bill, provides simply for the appropriation of the balance of \$550,000,000 remaining after the prior appropriation. The Senate committee believes the promise made should be carried out, and the amount appropriated.

I call attention to one paragraph of the report of the committee:

With respect to the so-called free-press provision—

And that was the most important provision the House placed in the bill by way of amendment—

the Department of State called attention to the fact that officials of the Department were negotiating on matters of this kind all the time and feel that they have had some degree

of success in achieving their objectives. It is their feeling that the proposed provision would hinder them in their efforts. Inasmuch as the peoples in those countries to whom relief is being given—and there are millions of them who are right on the starvation line—are not in position at this time to have very much influence with their central governments on the policies that those governments may adopt, it seemed to the committee that to deny those starving people succor unless the conditions laid down in this provision were met would only result in greater suffering to those we are trying to help. The committee, therefore, has recommended the deletion of the proposed language.

Mr. President, I have stated the purpose of the joint resolution. It is a very simple measure. As reported by the Senate committee, it provides simply for an appropriation of the \$550,000,000 which Congress has not yet appropriated, but which has been authorized.

Mr. President, as I stated to the Senator from Nebraska the other day in reply to a question respecting the free-press provision, these matters of legislation can all be taken up when the UNRRA authorization measure, which is now before the House, comes up for action, but they ought not to be taken up now, and we ought to limit ourselves simply to the appropriation. I hope very earnestly that the Senate will adopt the recommendation of the Senate committee.

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. President—
The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Tennessee yield to the Senator from Illinois?

Mr. McKELLAR. I yield to the Senator from Illinois.

Mr. BROOKS. I agree with what the chairman of the committee has said. I am sorry I was obliged to be out of the city when the measure came before the Senate committee. At that time I was attending the funeral of our deceased colleague, Senator Thomas of Idaho. I think the free-press provision quite properly should not be attached to this joint resolution. But I should like to ask a question. Did the committee make any inquiry, and has any assurance been given that UNRRA is checking to see that the money Congress appropriates goes where the American people think it ought to go?

Mr. McKELLAR. That is exactly the question which was raised in the committee, and the evidence indicated that it was. Such questions will always be raised. So far as the \$550,000,000 is concerned, as I see it, having authorized it, having led suffering people in distressed countries to think they would get it, we are duty bound to appropriate the money.

Mr. BROOKS. I think the Senator is completely right; but I shall think that I am correct in saying that the people of the United States are going to expect the Congress to insist pretty soon that the people of the world know that we are feeding them. What benefit can we get from the humanitarian joy of knowing that we are feeding people if they do not know that the American people are sending this money to them?

Mr. McKELLAR. I agree with the Senator entirely; and when the bill for

the extension of UNRRA comes before the Senate I am willing to go to the very limit to find out whether the money is being properly spent, as the American people expect it to be spent. The American people are of the opinion that we are feeding people who are hungry, that we are clothing people who have no clothes, and that we are furnishing shoes to people who have no shoes. The American people believe that we are taking care of those actually in want in the various countries. But those questions should be raised in connection with the bill authorizing the extension of UNRRA, and not in connection with the pending measure. I hope the Senate will look at it in the same way.

If Senators will examine the printed hearings they will find that the committee considered the subject very carefully. I hope the Senate will pass the bill as it has been reported by the committee.

Mr. BROOKS. Let me say to the Senator that all the information I can obtain is to the effect that when UNRRA started it was a very haphazard organization. Many persons returning from overseas made very derogatory reports about it. Then we heard that its administration was improving. Now it is proposed to appropriate \$550,000,000, but we have no assurance that the money will go to the people for whom it is intended, or that the people for whom it is intended will have the slightest idea that the American people are giving it. I believe that this should be the last appropriation for UNRRA without insisting that we know where the money goes, and that it goes where we think it goes.

Mr. McKELLAR. I agree with the Senator 100 percent.

Mr. REED. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McKELLAR. I was about to yield the floor.

Mr. REED. I should like to talk with the Senator from Tennessee while he has the floor.

I am very glad to have the assurance of the distinguished Senator from Tennessee that in future legislation extending the life of UNRRA, if such an extension is to be made, an effort will be made to insert a provision that the assistance shall go to countries in which the American press can have free access to the news as to what becomes of the money that we are sending abroad. I agree with the Senator from Tennessee that as the bill came to the Senate from the House legislation was written into it; but I will say to the Senator from Tennessee that I am glad to have his assurance, if I correctly understand him, that in future legislation such important matters will be given proper consideration and properly taken care of.

Mr. McKELLAR. I will go further than that. I will say to the Senator that we ought to know whether the needy in the various countries are actually receiving the help which the American people are expected to give them by the passage of this measure and the appropriation of this money.

Mr. REED. I join the Senator from Illinois in believing that it is important that the recipients know where the help is coming from.

Mr. HAYDEN obtained the floor.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HAYDEN. I yield.

Mr. TAFT. Is there anywhere, in the reports or elsewhere, any statement of where and how the \$550,000,000 is to be used?

Mr. HAYDEN. This is the way I understand the situation with respect to the \$550,000,000—

Mr. TAFT. Let me ask, in the first place, whether there is any statement as to how the \$550,000,000 is to be used. I have before me the fourth report, as of June 30, which seems to be the last report. I do not find in the hearings any comprehensive statement as to what the money is to be used for, what countries are to get it, and whether it is to be used for food or clothing for displaced persons, or for some other purpose.

Mr. HAYDEN. The Senator understands that we passed an authorization act providing \$1,350,000,000. We have heretofore appropriated \$300,000,000, leaving \$550,000,000 to be appropriated. Of the \$550,000,000, 10 percent, or \$55,000,000, will be in cash. In the first instance, 10 percent of the \$300,000,000, or \$30,000,000, was in cash, and \$720,000,000 in credit. Under this appropriation of \$550,000,000, there will be available to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration \$55,000,000 in cash, and a credit of \$495,000,000, with which to purchase goods in the United States. The testimony before the committee was to the effect that we have practically committed ourselves, and that delay will interfere with obtaining goods on which the Administration has options in the United States. By the 1st of January there will not be \$100,000,000 of this money left. So we know that the purchases are to be made in the United States.

Mr. TAFT. I believe that the Senator is quite correct in stating that, so far as this appropriation is concerned, we are obligated to make it, and I propose to vote for it. I am not concerned with the question as to whether we are bound to do it. What I am asking is whether there is available any information showing which nations are to receive the money, and whether they are to receive food, clothing, or agricultural implements. I notice in the June 30 report that \$40,000,000 is a currency fund to finance purchases outside the United States. Do we know where those purchases are being made, and which countries are receiving the \$40,000,000?

Mr. HAYDEN. The Senator from Tennessee has the figures.

Mr. McKELLAR. Let me give the Senator the figures: Clothing, textiles, and footwear, \$87,300,000; food, \$235,000,000; agricultural rehabilitation supplies, \$36,450,000; industrial rehabilitation supplies, \$72,000,000; medical and sanitation supplies, \$33,750,000; relief and rehabilitation services, \$10,000,000; ocean transportation, \$50,000,000; miscellaneous commodities and accessorial expenses, \$25,000,000; making a total of approximately \$550,000,000.

Mr. TAFT. Those figures refer to the money which is about to be appropriated.

Mr. McKELLAR. Exactly.

Mr. TAFT. Is there a division of that money among the various countries which are to receive it?

Mr. McKELLAR. I do not have before me the list of countries. I shall place it in the RECORD later.

Mr. BALL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HAYDEN. I yield.

Mr. BALL. I believe that the main part of the \$550,000,000 for supplies will go to five countries in Europe, namely, Greece, Albania, Yugoslavia, Poland, and Czechoslovakia, chiefly to Greece, Albania, and Yugoslavia, where there has been a severe drought. The proportion of food and clothing, in relation to industrial and agricultural rehabilitation supplies, is going up. Industrial and agricultural rehabilitation supplies represented a much larger proportion of the first part of the program than they represent in the current program.

Mr. TAFT. As I understand, this appropriation covers Czechoslovakia, Greece, Poland, Yugoslavia, and Albania.

Mr. BALL. And, to some extent, China.

Mr. TAFT. In effect, practically all of the \$550,000,000 will go to those five countries; is that correct?

Mr. HAYDEN. That is correct.

Mr. TAFT. Will any go to Italy?

Mr. BALL. There is a \$100,000,000 program in Italy to take care of children and expectant mothers.

Mr. TAFT. But it provides for no food?

Mr. McKELLAR. If the Senator from Arizona will yield to me—

Mr. HAYDEN. I yield.

Mr. McKELLAR. I will show the Senator where it goes. It goes to Albania, Byelorussian S. S. R., which is bordering on Russia; China, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Italy, Poland, Ukrainian S. S. R.; Yugoslavia, and a very small amount—2.2 percent—to all other countries.

Mr. TAFT. Is the Senator putting in the RECORD a statement of the proportion or figures indicating the relative size of these programs?

Mr. McKELLAR. No; it was requested that such figures not be put in, because the amounts might change constantly, and it would be misleading if we published the proportions or the percentages.

Mr. TAFT. Does not the Senator think we should at least have information regarding what the plans are for each country, so that we may at least have some idea where the money is going.

Mr. McKELLAR. So far as this measure is concerned, we do not have that information.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HAYDEN. I yield.

Mr. TAFT. I think we are committed to the amount under discussion, but I am interested in the fact that we shall soon have another request for funds for the UNRRA. We shall have a request for an authorization of \$1,350,000,000, and it seems to me that when that request comes we should have a definite statement regarding whether these countries will or will not be disappointed in regard to what the plans are, so that we

may know what the plans are for distributing the second allotment of UNRRA funds, before we commit ourselves to it.

Mr. McKELLAR. I agree with the Senator 100 percent, and I shall join with him in doing everything possible to obtain the facts.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, I should like to emphasize what the acting chairman of the committee has said. I hold in my hand a copy of House bill 4649, which has been introduced in the House of Representatives, has been favorably reported from committee, and is on the calendar of the House. I also hold in my hand a copy of a rule adopted by the House of Representatives providing for the consideration of that measure in the House. The bill is under general debate in the House of Representatives today. It is expected that it will be voted upon tomorrow. The bill was reported from the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, and after it is passed by the House and comes to the Senate, it will be referred to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. The whole policy regarding whether we are going to continue UNRRA can be debated in connection with the consideration of that measure.

The rule adopted by the House is perfectly wide open. The House can vote on the question whether the supplies can be sent into a country which does not permit our news correspondents to enter it; the House of Representatives can vote on anything in connection with consideration of the measure. It is a wide open matter, so it will be thoroughly debated in the House of Representatives; and when the bill comes before the Senate for consideration, there will be the same privilege here.

For that reason, I wish to say that, so far as the pending measure is concerned, all we have to do is to wait about two days until the other measure comes to the Senate from the House of Representatives. There will be opportunity for hearing before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, and subsequently there will be opportunity for full debate when the measure comes before the Senate. Therefore, my plea is that the pending measure be not amended, because there is no necessity for doing so.

Mr. BANKHEAD. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HAYDEN. I yield.

Mr. BANKHEAD. Is the Senator placing in the Record figures showing the quota or allotment to each nation and the amount which each nation has paid into this Organization?

Mr. HAYDEN. I do not have those figures.

Mr. BANKHEAD. If they are available, I think they should be placed in the Record. I have received a great many inquiries on the subject, showing the widespread interest in it.

Mr. HAYDEN. Undoubtedly those figures will be presented to the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations when the new bill comes up for consideration. Undoubtedly the figures are available.

Mr. BANKHEAD. In view of the interest of various Senators, as indicated in the debate, I think the figures should be placed in the Record at this time.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, I think I can throw some light on the matter. It will be remembered that Governor Lehman testified that the respective countries generally had paid their commitments to the fund, and that in the case of Great Britain, the British would appropriate a fund in addition to the amount to which they were committed; and there were some other additions. So, according to Governor Lehman, the answer is that the countries originally participating in the plan have paid their commitments to the original fund.

Mr. BANKHEAD. That answer is not satisfactory to me. If I can obtain the figures showing the amount which each nation has agreed to contribute and the amount which each nation has paid, I should like to have those figures placed in the Record. I am not satisfied with the general statement regarding the participation of various nations.

Mr. HAYDEN. I can give the Senator the rule whereby the contributions were solicited. The rule was that each one of the forty-odd united or associated nations which joined in the organization should contribute an amount estimated to be 1 percent of its national income during the year 1943. The national income of the United States during that year was estimated at \$135,000,000, and on that basis we appropriated \$1,350,000,000. I can also state to the Senator that that sum amounts to 71 percent of the total contributions. We are by far the largest contributor, because we had by far the largest national income.

Whether when the other measure comes before the Senate we shall wish to adopt that rule regarding contributions or some other rule is a question for the Senate to consider. But that is the way the matter was handled in the first place.

I am further advised, as I am sure the Senator from Maryland will confirm, that all other nations which committed themselves to 1 percent contributions—I think there are 46 or 47 of them—have paid the full amounts up to now, except in the case of the United States, and some of them have exceeded their amounts.

Mr. BANKHEAD. Then I think some one should know the amounts they have paid.

Mr. HAYDEN. I do not happen to remember what the amounts of the contributions were.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, if the Senator will yield to me, I shall be very glad to give the Senator from Alabama a list of the contributions.

Mr. BANKHEAD. I should like to have the list placed in the Record. I would not remember it. I want the information available.

Mr. McKELLAR. Of course, the Senator would not remember it. The list to which I refer is a statement of contributions implementing and operating the organization. The last figures which we have been able to obtain are as of September 30, 1945. The figures show, for instance, that Australia agreed to contribute \$38,400,000, and that she has paid the entire amount which she agreed

to pay. The list shows the contributions of all the nations participating in the plan. I ask unanimous consent that the list or statement, as it appears on page 2 of the report submitted by Mr. CANNON, from the House Committee on Appropriations, to the House of Representatives, be printed at this point in the Record.

There being no objection, the list was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Status of contributions (operating and administrative)—all countries, as of Sept. 30, 1945

[Values in United States dollar equivalents]

Country	Total contributions authorized or in process of authorization	Total contributions paid or available on request	
		Amount	Percent
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Australia.....	\$38,400,000	\$38,400,000	100
Belgium*.....	175,000	175,000	100
Bolivia.....	95,000	32,000	33
Brazil.....	30,000,000	10,000,000	33
Canada.....	69,369,000	69,369,000	100
Chile.....	2,153,000	0	0
China*.....	875,000	875,000	100
Colombia.....	2,356,000	52,000	2
Costa Rica.....	400,000	0	0
Cuba.....	35,000	35,000	100
Czechoslovakia*.....	175,000	100,000	57
Denmark*.....	19,000	0	0
Dominican Republic.....	350,000	245,000	70
Ecuador.....	150,000	0	0
Egypt.....	4,296,000	70,000	2
El Salvador.....	129,000	5,000	4
Ethiopia*.....	9,000	9,000	100
France*.....	700,000	700,000	100
Greece*.....	87,000	87,000	100
Guatemala.....	9,000	9,000	100
Haiti.....	49,000	49,000	100
Honduras.....	59,000	59,000	100
Iceland.....	718,000	718,000	100
India.....	24,042,000	24,042,000	100
Iran.....	18,000	0	0
Iraq.....	18,000	18,000	100
Liberia.....	9,000	9,000	100
Luxembourg*.....	9,000	9,000	100
Mexico.....	3,602,000	1,148,000	32
Netherlands*.....	262,000	262,000	100
New Zealand.....	8,476,000	8,476,000	100
Nicaragua.....	129,000	5,000	4
Norway*.....	52,000	52,000	100
Panama.....	409,000	142,000	35
Paraguay.....	38,000	10,000	26
Peru.....	1,000,000	793,000	79
Philippines*.....	9,000	9,000	100
Poland*.....	175,000	100,000	57
Union of South Africa.....	18,135,000	4,130,000	23
Union of Soviet Socialist Republics*.....	1,750,000	1,000,000	57
United Kingdom.....	322,400,000	322,400,000	100
United States of America.....	1,350,000,000	800,000,000	59
Uruguay.....	520,000	485,000	93
Venezuela.....	1,017,000	17,000	2
Yugoslavia*.....	122,000	70,000	57
Total.....	1,882,760,000	1,284,166,000	68

*The Council recommended that member countries whose area had not been occupied by the enemy contribute 1 percent of their national income for 1943. Countries indicated by the asterisk are those whose area was occupied by the enemy and such countries have contributed only to the administrative expenses.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, the Senator from Delaware has been kind enough to furnish me with a copy of the fourth report to the Congress regarding United States participation in UNRRA. In the report is the same tabulation which the Senator from Tennessee has just obtained consent to have placed in the Record.

Mr. President, I desire to hold the floor for only another moment—

Mr. TUNNELL. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HAYDEN. I yield.

Mr. TUNNELL. I merely wish to observe that, as I understand the matter, our authorization of this appropriation was one of the inducements which led many other nations to agree to contribute to the UNRRA fund, and I understand that all the other nations have paid their contributions on the strength of the representation that we would contribute \$1,350,000,000.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, there is no question about that. What happened, of course, was that there was a meeting of approximately 40 nations which formed the original association. They arrived at a plan which was adopted on November 9, 1943. Subsequently the Congress passed the act of March 28, 1944, adopting the plan and agreeing to contribute. When we did that, in 1944, the other nations followed suit. All of them have made their contributions in proportion to their national incomes, as estimated, in 1943.

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HAYDEN. I yield.

Mr. McCLELLAN. As I understand the matter, under the act providing the authorization for which we are now asked to appropriate, we shall have met our full obligation under that act when we make this appropriation; is that correct?

Mr. HAYDEN. The Senator is correct.

Mr. McCLELLAN. Then the question before us is whether we shall continue under that obligation or whether we shall commit ourselves to a new obligation. That question will be taken up by the Senate in connection with consideration of a separate measure, one which now is pending in the House of Representatives, so I understand.

Mr. HAYDEN. Yes; it is now before the House of Representatives.

Mr. McCLELLAN. So we are now under obligation to make this payment or appropriation, inasmuch as the other countries have made the contributions which they had agreed to make.

Mr. HAYDEN. That is correct.

Mr. McCLELLAN. But the question of whether we shall continue the arrangement and obligate ourselves further is a matter to be settled under another bill which is to come before the Senate.

Mr. HAYDEN. Yes.

Forty-four nations of the UNRRA held a meeting this year in London and adopted the following resolution:

Resolution relating to further contributions
Whereas it is deemed essential to make financial provision for the completion of the work of UNRRA; and

Whereas it is contemplated that UNRRA will complete its shipments to the receiving countries in Europe not later than the end of 1946 and in the Far East 3 months thereafter; and

Whereas the programs of the administration should be subject to continuing consideration in the light of the relative needs of the availability of supplies and finance before any final determination of the extent or cost of such programs can be made;

Resolved, That the Council recommends:

1. That the member governments should make available on the basis of the recommendations contained in sections 4 and 5 of the financial plan an additional contribution approximately equivalent to 1 percent of the

national income of the contributing country for the year ending June 30, 1943, as determined by the following contributing member government.

That is exactly what has been reported to the House of Representatives. That is what the House is debating today and will vote on tomorrow.

Mr. McCLELLAN. Am I to understand that we are asked to duplicate in the future what we have done in the past?

Mr. HAYDEN. The bill which was introduced by Representative SABATH is House bill 4649, and is a very short measure. It reads:

Be it enacted, etc., That the joint resolution of March 28, 1944, entitled "Joint resolution to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations relief and rehabilitation organization," is amended in the following respect:

(1) The first section is amended by striking out "\$1,350,000,000" and inserting in lieu thereof "\$2,700,000,000."

(2) Section 9 is amended by striking out "1946" and inserting in lieu thereof "1947."

That is all there is to the bill which the House of Representatives is now considering. It is being considered under a wide-open rule that the House may vote on any amendment to the bill, including the proposal to deny contributions to countries which prevent activities of our press correspondents.

Mr. McCLELLAN. It may have already been explained by either the Senator from Arizona or the Senator from Tennessee, but what was the reason for striking out the provision at the top of page 3 beginning in line 2 of the pending joint resolution?

Mr. HAYDEN. The language did not mean much. It reads:

Provided further, That, insofar as possible and practicable, agricultural commodities determined by the Secretary of Agriculture to be in surplus supply shall be utilized in filling United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration requisitions for food and agricultural commodities.

That language merely implies hope. That is why we thought that it was utterly unnecessary. Secondly, UNRRA does not make these purchases at all. All that UNRRA will have under this joint resolution is a credit of \$495,000,000, 10 percent being in cash and 90 percent being in credit. If UNRRA should wish to buy some wheat, for example, to be shipped abroad, all it could do would be to go to the Commodity Credit Corporation and say, "We want to buy so many million pounds of wheat for shipment abroad. You buy it for us and we will pay you with the credit which we have been given." So the actual acquisition of any agricultural product, or any manufactured product in the United States is accomplished by the purchasing agent of our Government. UNRRA is not in the market at all.

Mr. McCLELLAN. It makes no direct purchases.

Mr. HAYDEN. It makes no direct purchases. It makes requisitions on the Commodity Credit Corporation, for example.

Mr. McCLELLAN. If we should have a surplus of some commodity which UNRRA requests, the Commodity Credit

Corporation would be in position to furnish it out of such surplus.

Mr. HAYDEN. Exactly. The Senator from Oklahoma [Mr. THOMAS], chairman of the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, arrived at the same conclusion that some others of us arrived at, namely, that the language to which reference has been made did not mean anything of essential importance. UNRRA will have credit in the United States.

Mr. McCLELLAN. In other words, UNRRA would have to obtain the goods and materials in the United States in any event.

Mr. HAYDEN. Yes.

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. HAYDEN. I yield.

Mr. LANGER. Of course, Germany, not being a member of the United Nations, receives nothing under this proposal.

Mr. HAYDEN. No. The original resolution authorizing the appropriation is perfectly clear on that point. If the Germans and the Japanese need any food, they must depend upon supplies being furnished them by our army of occupation. The agreement which was entered into reads as follows:

The governments or authorities whose duly authorized representatives have subscribed hereto,

Being United Nations or being associated with the United Nations in this war,

Being determined that immediately upon the liberation of any area by the armed forces of the United Nations or as a consequence of retreat of the enemy the population thereof shall receive aid and relief from their sufferings, food, clothing and shelter, aid in the prevention of pestilence and in the recovery of the health of the people, and that preparation and arrangements shall be made for the return of prisoners and exiles to their homes and for assistance in the resumption of urgently needed agricultural and industrial production and the restoration of essential services.

Mr. LANGER. Has any appropriation been made for use in Germany or Japan?

Mr. HAYDEN. No UNRRA appropriation has been made for that purpose.

Mr. LANGER. Has any other appropriation been made for that purpose?

Mr. HAYDEN. Oh, yes; the Army now has money which it spends in feeding some of the people in Germany, and it will possibly be required to feed people in Japan. However, such work will not be performed by the UNRRA.

Mr. LANGER. Aside from the money which the Army is using, has there been any other appropriation made for the same purpose?

Mr. HAYDEN. No.

Mr. LANGER. As many of us know, a person of German extraction in this country is not allowed to send any money or supplies to his relatives in Germany.

Mr. HAYDEN. There may have been military reasons for enforcing such a rule in the past, but I do not know that they will continue forever.

Mr. LANGER. Is it the intention of the Government that the Army shall continue to supply necessities to Germans and to Japanese?

Mr. HAYDEN. Yes; unless the Congress changes its present policy. When the bill to which I have referred arrives on the floor of the Senate it will be subject to amendment. However, under the existing law we depend on the army of occupation to take care of the needs of the conquered peoples.

Mr. McKELLAR. If the Senator from Arizona will permit me, I may say that the appropriations for the Army in connection with the subject to which the Senator from North Dakota has referred will expire June 30 next.

Mr. LANGER. Many persons have written me and stated that they wished to send supplies to their relatives in Germany, but that our Government has absolutely refused to transport or deliver them.

Mr. HAYDEN. General Eisenhower is now in active charge as Chief of Staff and will be familiar with the situation to which the Senator has referred. I suggest to the Senator that he consult with the General and see if an arrangement can be made for persons in this country to send articles to relatives in Germany.

Mr. OVERTON. Mr. President, the Senator from Arizona has explained very lucidly how supplies, food and provisions are obtained here in this country. I believe, however, that a statement should be made for the information of the Senate with reference to what is done with those supplies after they are obtained. As the Senator has said, no money is paid out, but supplies are turned over to the various governments. UNRRA does not distribute any of the supplies. Distribution is made by the provisional or other governments which may be in control. In the countries in which these supplies are distributed UNRRA does not give supplies solely to the indigent. It gives them to the wealthy as well. The supplies are sold to the wealthy. They are sold for the purpose of raising funds in order to pay the cost of distributing them to the poor and to the indigent. It has been said that that is the most practical method of administering the matter. That may be true, but I do not think it is generally understood that these supplies are not distributed by UNRRA at all, but instead they are turned over to the various governments for distribution. The governments distribute them without any cost on their part because they take the supplies and sell them to those who want to buy them, and use the money resulting from the sales to pay the cost of distribution.

Mr. HAYDEN. I am in entire accord with the suggestion of the Senator that this matter be thoroughly looked into. The time to do it is when the bill to which I have referred comes later before the Senate. I frankly do not agree with him that it is not a proper way to do it. There may be a better way, and I hope the Committee on Foreign Relations will look into the matter carefully.

At the time the original bill was passed the Senator from Michigan [Mr. VANDENBERG] questioned the UNRRA officials as to whether or not they would dispose of some of these products by sale and he was so advised. That is a matter concerning which we perhaps do not

have all the facts, but we feel it ought to be thoroughly investigated by the Committee on Foreign Relations when they consider the whole question of policy. We felt that it was not proper to take it up on this joint resolution because it is a legislative and administrative matter.

Mr. OVERTON. Mr. President, if the Senator will yield further, I am not at all opposing the passage of this joint resolution. I simply wanted to give that information to the Senate so that it may be considered when the other bill, which will prolong the activities of UNRRA, comes up. I think it is a matter which, first, the committee ought to inquire into and which, secondly, the Senate and House ought to act upon.

Mr. HAYDEN. I have no doubt that that will be done.

Mr. OVERTON. It may be that the present method is a practical way of doing it, but it does not appeal to me as being a sound business principle at all.

Mr. HAYDEN. It seems to me, upon the other hand, to be the soundest and most business-like way to do it. That is where the argument arises.

Mr. OVERTON. I think on reflection the Senator will come to the conclusion that there may be considerable, shall I say, waste of UNRRA's goods and supplies under the present method of procedure.

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, if, as we are advised, UNRRA is distributing supplies to those who are wealthy and able to buy, it is probably being done very much to the detriment of those who are suffering and whom we are trying to relieve.

Mr. HAYDEN. I think it will take some time to argue the merits of the question, but let me state briefly what the situation is. UNRRA ships, say, a million tons of wheat to Greece because the Greeks are starving. That wheat has to go through the mill and be made into flour, and then the flour has to be baked into bread and distributed throughout Greece so as to get it in the hands of the starving people. That is done by the Greek Government. We turn the wheat over to the Greek Government, and the Greek Government sees to it that the wheat is milled, and it pays the cost of transportation and distribution throughout Greece. How can it afford to pay for it since it is broke? It can afford because there is a price fixed for the bread, and if a Greek has drachma with which to buy a loaf of bread he is required to pay for it. Sixty percent or more of it has actually to be given away, but those who can afford to pay for it, those who have drachma, are required by the Greek Government to pay, and the money is used by the Greek Government to pay for the milling and transportation.

Mr. McCLELLAN. I thank the Senator from Arizona for his explanation, but the point I am getting at is whether those in the greatest need are actually being relieved.

Mr. HAYDEN. Yes; they are. UNRRA has 300 people in Greece to see that no one is overlooked, to see that there is no discrimination because of race, religion, or any other reason, and

to supervise the accounts of the Greek Government, and to see, if there is any profit, that the money is properly used. That is the arrangement. There may be a better one, but it has worked well for UNRRA. If a better one can be found than that which is being carried out now, let us try to find it.

Mr. MEAD. Mr. President, if the Senator from Arizona will yield, I believe the procedure should be carefully and very understandingly explained. As I understand, the goods are not only given to indigents but also to the needy, and the needy may include the rich and the poor alike. If the wealthy received any of the goods and have funds they must pay for the goods, and, as the Senator from Arizona explained, the money thus received is used to distribute the goods in the particular country and, if any money is left over and above that, it goes to make a further contribution to relief. UNRRA maintains a commission to see that everything is conducted in the most efficient way possible.

Mr. HAYDEN. That is the general plan. A way may be found to modify it when the bill is further considered; it may be handled in some other way and improved. I do not think it is a perfect plan, but it was the plan adopted when we first authorized the relief work to be undertaken. We are going to have another authorization in a few days, and then we can discuss other plans.

Mr. MEAD. Should there not be a review of the present plan?

Mr. HAYDEN. By all means, there ought to be a review of it.

Mr. BALL. Mr. President, I want to take merely a moment. There have been a great many criticisms of inefficiency on the part of UNRRA, and I have no doubt it is inefficient. I received recently a letter from Mrs. Lois Severeid, of New York, who was a member of the UNRRA mission to Greece, and who tells a very graphic story of the difficulties which were encountered and the reasons why there was inefficiency. For one thing, UNRRA was a stepchild of the armed services until the war ended. UNRRA is still completely dependent for shipping and supplies on the government with which it deals. It has no operating force of its own.

I think this letter is a very valuable contribution to the thinking on this whole subject, and I ask unanimous consent, Mr. President, that it be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEW YORK CITY, November 4, 1945.

DEAR JOE: Because the Senate is due to consider the appropriation for UNRRA sometime in the near future, . . .

I would appreciate your consideration of my own plea for a look at UNRRA from the standpoint of one who has put in 2 years of intensive struggle to make it work, to get food and clothing to the distressed people of Europe.

I joined the Office of Foreign Relief of the United States Government in September 1943, at which time it was under the jurisdiction of the State Department. By the time I got to Cairo, Egypt, on December 1, 1943, it had come under the jurisdiction of the Foreign Economic Administration, and

by January 1, 1944, we were under the control of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, which had been set up at the Atlantic City Conference late in 1943.

I was sent over as a stenographer and was the third member of the Relief Administration to arrive in Cairo. We were concerned primarily with planning relief for the Balkans, when they should be liberated, and the British Army should have withdrawn, and we were also concerned with assisting the British Army in operating the refugee camps in the Middle East, which eventually housed some 70,000 Greek and Yugoslav refugees.

Because I have had long experience in working with emergency Government organizations and because of my previous experience in working in foreign countries, I sacrificed 15 pounds of my allowed 55 pounds of luggage on my travels to Egypt (via ATC) to enable me to carry with me a portable typewriter, stenographer's notebooks, pencils, carbon, clips, etc.

One of Congress' chief complaints about UNRRA is that it is inefficient. I submit that Congress is absolutely right, but that UNRRA is unavoidably inefficient. I did not expect to find the advance relief guard operating efficiently when I got to Cairo, at which time we were not an international organization, but under the jurisdiction of the United States Foreign Economic Administration. There is always a time lag between the setting up of any emergency agency, even in the United States Government, the appropriation of funds for its operation, and its efficient operation.

For 3 weeks I had no desk, no chair, and I typed the essential papers on my portable typewriter, which was perched on a window ledge. This was not efficiency. Nor was it efficient for me, later, when UNRRA came into being, and the United States Army and Government administrations quite rightly were no longer willing to supply us with stationery, pencils, etc., etc., and I had to rush out all hours of the day and purchase supplies on the Cairo market, with whatever personal funds I could spare at the moment.

But UNRRA had no funds. No appropriations had been made by any of the Governments who had subscribed to the UNRRA agreement. In understanding the operations of an international organization it must be borne in mind that its operations are carried out by nationals of various countries, who, no matter how hard they try, cannot entirely escape their previous prejudices, habits, and allegiances. Its operations are dependent, first, on grants of funds by the governments of the member nations, and, secondly, on instruments and agencies of national governments. Our transportation and communications were possible only through the use of United States or British military and diplomatic facilities. We had no funds to set up our own, nor no facilities for setting up a system of our own. We were at the mercy of officials of these national agencies whose first concern and legal responsibility was to their own governments and national interests, and not to UNRRA, except to the degree to which they were ordered to facilitate UNRRA by their home offices. This does not mean that there were not men of good will attached to national agencies who were willing to aid us in every way possible, but it does mean that there were those who were not willing to aid us unless so ordered.

Eventually, in February and March 1944, more personnel for UNRRA arrived, but they were all top executives, badly needed, indeed, for present operations in the refugee camps and for planning of their particular fields and services in the relief of the Balkans. However, no top executive can be efficient without adequate secretarial help. At one time there were 25 top officials, serviced stenographically only by me and 2 Egyptian typists, whose every word had to be supervised closely by me because they had not been sufficiently

trained. I can see quite readily how the United States Army and civilian transport officials, who had probably never worked in a foreign country, would conclude that stenographic personnel, which was theoretically available in Egypt, should be furnished from there, and that limited passenger space on ATC should not be used to send out American stenographers. However, there is not only the basic language difficulty, which makes it almost impossible to use a foreign stenographer. They are also almost untrained, as American girls are, in the efficient use of the typewriter.

At this time there was no office manager, so I took over the duties of managing the office, and I begged, borrowed, stole, and, as a last resort, bought desks, chairs, and equipment for these 25 officials. (Remember, at this time there still was no appropriation of any funds by any national government for UNRRA.) The American legation graciously let us stay on in their building but could spare us only half a floor, which consisted of 6 rooms and a hall. It is impossible to house 25 men and 3 girls efficiently in 6 rooms. We did our best, men shared desks, but none of them could work efficiently, particularly in the middle of conferences that others were obliged to hold.

At this time, in March, as I remember, the British government appropriated funds for UNRRA. So we were able to start negotiations for rental of a building, installation of telephones, purchase of office equipment, etc. We had no accountant, but with the help, the patience, and kindness of the United States Treasury representative in Cairo, who was much overworked, but who had agreed to keep UNRRA accounts until our own accounting system was set up, I doubled as accountant until accountants arrived for UNRRA.

Also about this time, Governor Lehman arrived in Cairo, to discuss with the British UNRRA's taking over of relief activities projected for the Balkans, while the British army was still in occupation. This visit, these resulting conferences, and the consequent publicity, greatly activated public interest in UNRRA in Egypt, and we began to have many applicants for work. We had no personnel officer, so I interviewed prospective employees, and shunted off the more likely candidates to the appropriate officers.

Of course, my health broke under the strain of these many activities, and I was shipped off to the United States Army hospital for several weeks—inefficient, of course. I was a year later sent home for the same reason, I had worked so long and so hard that my health broke under the strain, and someone else had to be shipped out to replace me. Most inefficient procedure.

When I returned to work in May, UNRRA had a new office building, new typewriters, new stenographers, accountants, furniture, paper, all essential for efficient operations. I do not mean to imply that there were ever enough stenographers, paper, typewriters, desks, etc., for efficient operations. Our funds and credit were limited. The United States Congress had not yet appropriated funds for UNRRA.

At this time, I was relieved of any responsibility for the Balkan operations, and devoted my attentions entirely to the Greek mission. We encountered the same difficulties that stood in the way of efficient planning and operations as we had in the original Balkan operations. Naturally, Balkan operations as a whole came first, and we had to make do with what was left. Personnel dribbled in whenever the United States Army and the British Army succumbed to the pressure of UNRRA officials in Washington and London, and allowed space to us. We lured as many as possible to the Greek mission.

We set up a training program, organized classes in Greek, in Greece's political and economic history and geography. It was far from efficient, and any trained educator

would have thrown up his hands in horror, but it was the best I could do, and it did help acquaint the people who were going to work in Greece with its language, customs, politics, and geography.

We had no administrative personnel assigned to the Greek mission. Mr. Laird Archer, who was chief of mission, had to concern himself with the policy and planning, and with diplomatic exchanges with representatives of the Greek Government in Cairo. So it devolved on me to do what organizational work was required. With the help and suggestions of everyone I could get to listen to me, I drew up an organizational chart, for the Greece mission, and outlined plans for operation in accordance with the policies laid down by UNRRA headquarters, the Balkan headquarters, and Mr. Archer. This was far from efficiency, but it was better than nothing.

Perhaps you have never worked in a foreign country, but if you have you will appreciate the difficulty of the telephone service in Egypt. Egyptian telephone service, probably not too good at best, was overloaded with foreign official and Army demands. If we had to get in touch with the Minister of Public Welfare, say (Egyptian Government offices are open from 11 a. m. until 2 p. m. only), it was often impossible to get a telephone call through to him within that period of time. Three-quarters of an hour to put through a call we considered a minor miracle of speed and efficiency.

Apparently certain Members of Congress do not realize that it is often not possible, for diplomatic reasons, for an international organization to be efficient. Say, for example, that as an expert in office routine I conclude that the most efficient method of routing a paper is to send it first to X, who has to act on it, and then to Y and Z for their information. That is the way we would do it in America. But, alas, in Egypt the procedure would be to send the paper first to Z and Y for their information, and lastly to X, who would keep the paper and act upon it. (Remember, we had not enough typists and paper to allow us to duplicate papers.) Now, Z, in this instance, happens to be Egyptian, and he would consider it an insult to his country and to their methods of doing business if I, as an American, route it first to X (who probably is also an American). So, for diplomatic reasons, and to protect the feelings of the sensitive national representatives, we must route it to Z first. This is not efficiency. This instance can, of course, be duplicated in every minor problem of international organization's operations.

With the liberation of Greece in October 1944, we came to the immediate transport of our personnel, equipment (such as it was), and or putting into operation our plans. We were entirely at the mercy of the British Army's decisions as to what personnel was needed for relief in Greece and the order of their importance. The British Army concluded that the top executives were needed first, and so they were sent there, with no secretaries, no typewriters, no paper, no adding machines, to help them carry out their jobs. There was no office furniture because the British Army had concluded that it was more important to take cargo space, limited at best, for food. This was undoubtedly right, but it didn't make for efficiency of relief operations.

Remember that, although the Congress of the United States had made half of its promised appropriations to UNRRA, we had no transport, no communications of our own. We had to rely on the British Army. It often took from 1 week to 10 days for a telegram to get from our headquarters in Athens to Cairo, and vice versa. We were confronted with the spectacle of top officials, stranded in Athens, with nobody to direct them to do the work, and the operating

forces, stranded in Cairo, with no direction. This is not efficient.

I do not think there is one of us who does not agree that military requirements are of first importance, when we are fighting a war. But the spectacle of the American Army and the British Army, on whom we were dependent for transport and communications, shunting everything of a relief nature into second place after everything of a military nature, I submit was not entirely necessary nor efficient on their parts. I could cite you many, many instances when relief interests, i. e., transport of food and personnel, were shunted aside for the transport of Army officers and equipment which had no direct or even delayed bearing on the prosecution of the war.

I can cite other instances of inaction on the part of the military which resulted in relief personnel and supplies being delayed or not transported at all. Of course, the military were severely handicapped in the matter of transport and communications themselves, because the Germans had destroyed the roads, the bridges, the boats, the railroads, etc. But in many instances, when there was transport, the Army refused to allow relief personnel to be transported because of what they—the Army—determined were unsuitable facilities. For example, the British Army allowed women relief workers to go only to Athens, to which large enough boats were sent from Egypt to furnish what the Army considered adequate accommodations for women. The fact that these women, for the most part nurses and doctors, were needed in the islands, and other remote parts of Greece, to which there were no means of transport from Athens, didn't seem to weigh in the consideration of the Army officials at all. We pleaded in vain that they be sent on the cargo boats that were going with troops and supplies—probably the only boats that would go there for the next few months. The women personnel concerned were quite willing to go under any conditions—they were only anxious to get to work, to help the people they had come so far to help, and they couldn't swim that far.

It is impossible to distribute medicines, food, supplies, and clothing efficiently in second-caliber trucks, limited in number to what the Army thinks it can spare, over blasted roads. My personal feeling is that it is an absolute miracle that anything was distributed, that people did get fed. And it is due only to the high courage and determination of those UNRRA personnel who were willing to leave their comfortable homes in America and go forth, on faith, to help the people of Europe, to risk their lives so that people could be fed.

This brings me to my second point—the often circulated report that UNRRA is the laughing stock of Europe. I submit that the only people in Europe who are laughing at UNRRA are those well-fed politicians and cynics who have always laughed at America—because, quite wrongly, since the majority of personnel of UNRRA is American. America is getting the credit (and the blame, if you like) for the UNRRA operations in the eyes of most Europeans.

I submit that the people of Cyros, who had lived for four long years in isolation from the rest of the world except for the Germans, did not laugh when the first American UNRRA man appeared to help them, to distribute foods, medicines, and warm clothing. They wept because anyone cared enough to come to their aid, to share their misery and privation. The spiritual lift was much greater than the material aid.

I submit that the people in the hospitals of Athens, who were cut off from all outside aid, caught between the crossfire of the EAM and the British forces during the revolution in the fall of 1944, did not laugh uproariously when the men of UNRRA risked their lives to bring the old, the ill, and the new-born babies

food and warm blankets, risking their own lives in that murderous crossfire.

I submit that the people of Greece, and I am sure that the story is duplicated throughout the rest of Europe, do not laugh at the spectacle of men and women of good will who have come at personal sacrifice far from their loved ones and comfort and good food and safety, to share with these suffering peoples their misery, their common hunger, and to try to help them.

They are not the most efficient of personnel, the Congress of the United States is quite right, but people who have an interest in their fellow men seldom have the time to be efficient—they are less apt to be concerned with whether or not they get paid, depending on the whim of the Congress of the United States, than are efficient fellows.

But with their courage, their faith, and high hopes they have instilled in the suffering people of Europe the will to struggle onward, the realization that there is some justice, some understanding and sympathy, and appreciation for the hideous tortures they have gone through, through no real fault of their own, and I submit finally that certain Members of the Congress of the United States have no right in the name of humanity to hamstring and restrict and make more difficult the job of these good people in their unselfish efforts to bring aid to the suffering masses of Europe.

Sincerely yours,

LOIS F. SEVAREID.

SEVERAL SENATORS. Vote!

Mr. MCKELLAR. Mr. President, let the first amendment be stated.

Mr. BILBO. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator from Arizona a question—\$550,000,000 is quite a large sum of money. I feel that I am obligated to vote for the bill, but at the same time, while I am doing that, I also think of how well we could use \$550,000,000 in the United States in making easier the lives of the returning soldiers by building homes for them, building farm-to-market roads, and so on. I have been thinking that the UNRRA organization is overstaffed. Has the Senator any information as to how many employees Governor Lehman has on his pay roll?

Mr. HAYDEN. That information is available in the annual report which is made. I do not happen to have it before me. This is the story, as I understand, of UNRRA employees: It was organized in the middle of the war—the agreement was made in 1943 and we appropriated the first money in 1944—and it was very difficult to secure experienced personnel to handle an undertaking of this kind. I have no doubt at all that there is inefficiency on the part of inexperienced employees. The people who went into it were of the type who could not get into the Army and Navy because of age, but who were imbued with a sort of military spirit, wanting to do good but not knowing how to do it in a business-like way. That has been the trouble.

Now we are advised by General Eisenhower, in his testimony before the House committee, that the situation is being rapidly corrected. Members of the Commissary and Quartermaster's Corps, both in the United States and British Armies, have been detailed to straighten out many of the kinks, and General Eisenhower in his testimony said that there had been a great improvement in recent months.

It stands to reason that if we could get men of experience out of the armed forces, or out of other agencies in our Government, they would be much more efficient than the first group.

Mr. BILBO. Mr. President, I shall be glad to get further information about this matter.

Mr. MCKELLAR. Mr. President, at this point I should like to put into the RECORD a statement of the administrative and operating expenses. I ask that the information be printed at this point.

There being no objection, the matter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Administrative and operating personnel as of Aug. 31, 1945

ADMINISTRATIVE PERSONNEL (AS DEFINED BY UNRRA COUNCIL)	
Office:	
Headquarters, Washington, D. C.	1,136
Training School, University of Maryland	6
European Regional Office, London	939
Southwest Pacific Area Office, Sydney	67
Mediterranean Office, Caserta, Italy	9
Liaison Office, Berne, Switzerland	2
Poland Temporary Delegation	16
India Temporary Delegation	11
Brazil Liaison Office of Procurement	5
Colombia Liaison Office of Procurement	3
Mexico Liaison Office of Procurement	2
Cuba Liaison Office of Procurement	1
Chile Liaison Office of Procurement	2
Carribbean Liaison Office	1
Total	2,180

OPERATING PERSONNEL ² (AS DEFINED BY UNRRA COUNCIL)	
Area:	
Displaced persons program (mostly in Germany)	4,952
Albania Mission	26
Belgium Mission	5
Czechoslovakia Mission	19
Denmark Mission	3
France Mission	16
Greece Mission	386
Italy Mission	246
Luxemburg Mission	6
Middle East Office	127
Netherlands Mission	4
Norway Mission	5
Philippines Mission	4
Sweden Office	1
Yugoslavia Mission	143
China Office	40
In training at headquarters	82
Total	6,065

¹ Not including three additional persons from headquarters.

² About 75 percent of the costs of the operating missions, exclusive of base allotments and transportation to overseas stations, are paid from local currency made available by recipient nations.

Mr. BILBO. Mr. President, my reason for making the inquiry is that I read in the press some time ago that two ladies who were on the pay roll of UNRRA in England, and had been for a year, resigned in disgust, since they had nothing to do. Yet they were drawing pay from the UNRRA funds.

Mr. MCKELLAR. We had no proof about that, and it is difficult to keep up with newspaper articles.

Mr. BILBO. My attention was also directed to conditions in the local office of UNRRA in the District of Columbia, where recently a counterfeiting outfit has been uncovered in the office itself. They had one employee who was engaged in counterfeiting Uncle Sam's money, and was operating under four different names. Evidently there must be some loose business somewhere in the formation of the personnel to handle this vast sum of money.

Mr. McKELLAR. All I can say to the Senator in reply is that I never before heard of the incident he has mentioned. I suppose I should have read the papers more closely. I hope to heaven that if there has been any counterfeiting or any other criminal action on the part of UNRRA officials or employees, or anyone else, they will be prosecuted and given the limit, because any person who will cheat, swindle, or defraud in the case of charity money should receive very severe punishment. Under certain circumstances I might tell him where I thought he should go.

Mr. BILBO. Two of these employees of UNRRA—and I understand they were all getting handsome salaries—were caught counterfeiting money at Fourteenth and P Streets, in the District of Columbia. They were working out of the office, which is at 1344 Connecticut Avenue. They are now in custody for counterfeiting.

Mr. McKELLAR. I hope they are not only in custody, but that they will soon be tried and put in jail for their crimes, because, regardless of where they work or the nature of their employment, if they are violating the law, they should be punished.

Mr. BILBO. The point I was making was that there must have been some looseness in the organization of those handling this vast sum of money, or they would not have hired as an employe of UNRRA a man who had a record of operating under three different names.

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator from Tennessee a question.

Mr. McKELLAR. I shall try to answer.

Mr. BYRD. I understood from the Senator from Tennessee and the Senator from Arizona that all the other countries had paid their allotments.

Mr. McKELLAR. Yes. We pay about 71 percent of the entire amount, but the other nations have contributed quotas.

Mr. BYRD. It has only been done recently, then.

Mr. McKELLAR. That was the testimony before our committee.

Mr. BYRD. Governor Lehman was before the Joint Committee on Reduction of Nonessential Federal Expenditures about a month ago. My understanding is that a country's quota is based upon 1 percent of its national income.

Mr. McKELLAR. That is true.

Mr. BYRD. And the country itself fixes the figures as to its national income.

Mr. McKELLAR. Yes.

Mr. BYRD. In other words, the organization apparently has nothing to do with it. Then the payments are made in kind. For instance, a country such as

Brazil may furnish coffee. I understand only about 10 percent of the payment is made in cash.

Mr. McKELLAR. That is true. The same rule applies to us, of course.

Mr. BYRD. It occurred to me, in the investigation we conducted, that there was no proper supervision to see that the countries which paid in kind made a reasonable charge for what they furnished. They may furnish meat, they may furnish sugar, or some other commodity, but apparently each country determines the amount of its national income on which its 1-percent allotment is based, and also fixes the prices of the materials it furnishes in kind. I merely call the attention of the Senator from Tennessee to this because I think when the next bill is drawn it should be put in much better form than the measure which is now before the Senate.

Mr. McKELLAR. The matter should be much more carefully gone into. That is a legislative matter, and comes before the Committee on Foreign Relations, and I urge the members of that committee, as I have already done, to go into that and all other questions, such as the one raised by the Senator from Mississippi and questions other Senators have suggested. This is charity money, and it should go to people who are in need, who are suffering either for food or clothing or medicine.

Mr. BYRD. Of course, the other bill will come before the Senate.

Mr. McKELLAR. Of course it will. The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on that part of the amendment to strike out all from page 2, line 2, after the figures "1947", down to and including line 7.

The amendment was agreed to.

The next amendment of the committee was to strike out beginning with line 8, page 2, down to and including line 11, page 4, as follows:

No part of the appropriation herein shall be available subsequent to December 31, 1945, for the furnishing of relief or rehabilitation supplies or services to any country unless and until (A) the President has received from the Director General of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration a certification to the effect that the furnishing by such Administration of relief and rehabilitation supplies and services, in the case of such country, will be made only under agreements between United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration and such country or other suitable arrangements providing:

(1) That all trade agreements and all barter agreements of such country with other nations, together with satisfactory information on all exports from, and imports into, such country, whether for governmental or private account, will be made available to United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

(2) That such country shall supply accredited United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration personnel with all necessary facilities, credentials, documents, and safe conduct in carrying out the objectives of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration agreement, including all necessary inspections and investigations.

(3) That the Administration, if it determines such a course to be desirable, will be permitted, during the period of its operations in such country, to retain title to all motor transport equipment supplied by the Ad-

ministration, and will also be permitted to route such equipment and to direct the use of the fuel and lubricants supplied by the Administration.

(B) That for the purpose of keeping the people of the United States fully and properly informed as to the need for and the use of the relief and aid being or to be furnished various countries and peoples by the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, that none of the funds appropriated hereby, or none of the commodities, supplies, materials, or services purchased or obtained through the expenditures of funds provided herein, shall be furnished to or used in any country of which the controlling government interferes with or refuses full and free access to the news of any and all activities of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration by representatives of the press and radio of the United States; or maintains any barrier—technical, political, legal, or economic—to obtaining, dispatching, and disseminating the news of any and all activities of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, or discriminates against the representatives of the press and radio of the United States in rates and charges for facilities used in collecting and dispatching such news; or censors, or attempts to censor, in time of peace, news of any and all activities of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration which may be prepared in or dispatched from such country by representatives of the press and radio of the United States.

The amendment was agreed to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The joint resolution is open to further amendment. If there be no further amendment to be offered, the question is on the engrossment of the amendments and the third reading of the joint resolution.

The amendments were ordered to be engrossed, and the joint resolution to be read a third time.

The joint resolution (H. J. Res. 266) was read the third time and passed.

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I move that the Senate insist on its amendments, ask for a conference with the House thereon, and that the Chair appoint the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The motion was agreed to; and the Presiding Officer appointed Mr. McKELLAR, Mr. GLASS, Mr. HAYDEN, Mr. TYDINGS, Mr. RUSSELL, Mr. OVERTON, Mr. BROOKS, Mr. BRIDGES, Mr. GURNEY, and Mr. BALL conferees on the part of the Senate.

APPROPRIATION FOR THE CONTINGENT EXPENSES OF THE SENATE

Mr. McKELLAR. Mr. President, I report favorably from the Committee on Appropriations an original Senate joint resolution, making appropriations for contingent expenses of the Senate. The joint resolution carries an appropriation of \$400,000 to be turned over to Mr. Oco Thompson, the financial clerk of the Senate, to pay expenses of investigations which have been authorized. The fund is entirely depleted, and it is necessary to appropriate this money.

The joint resolution (S. J. Res. 125) was read twice by its title.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the immediate consideration of the joint resolution?

There being no objection, the joint resolution was considered, ordered to be

engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

Resolved, etc., That there is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of \$400,000 for contingent expenses of the Senate, expenses of inquiries and investigations ordered by the Senate, including compensation to stenographers of committees, at such rates as may be fixed by the Committee to Audit and Control the Contingent Expenses of the Senate, but not exceeding 25 cents fiscal year 1946: *Provided*, That no part of this appropriation shall be expended for per diem and subsistence expenses except in accordance with the provisions of the Subsistence Expense Act of 1926, approved June 3, 1926, as amended.

REHABILITATION OF THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Senate bill 1610, to provide for the rehabilitation of the Philippine Islands, and for other purposes.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 1610) to provide for the rehabilitation of the Philippine Islands, and for other purposes.

The bill is as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That this act may be cited as the "Philippine Rehabilitation Act of 1945."

TITLE I—COMPENSATION FOR WAR DAMAGE

SEC. 101. (a) There is hereby established a Philippine War Damage Commission (in this title referred to as the "Commission"). The Commission shall consist of three members, to be appointed by the President of the United States. One of the members of the Commission shall be a Filipino. The members of the Commission shall receive compensation at the rate of \$10,000 a year. The terms of office of the members of the Commission shall expire at the time fixed in subsection (d) for winding up the affairs of the Commission. A vacancy in the membership of the Commission shall not impair the authority of the remaining two members of the Commission to exercise all of its functions. Vacancies occurring in the membership of the Commission shall be filled in the same manner as in the case of the original selection. Members of the Commission shall receive their necessary traveling and other expenses incurred in connection with their duties as such members, or a per diem allowance in lieu thereof.

(b) The Commission may, without regard to the civil-service laws or the Classification Act of 1923, as amended, appoint and fix the compensation of such officers and employees, and may make such expenditures, as may be necessary to carry out its functions. Officers and employees of any other department or agency of the Government may, with the consent of the head of such department or agency, be assigned to assist the Commission in carrying out its functions. The Commission may, with the consent of the head of any other department or agency of the Government, utilize the facilities and services of such department or agency in carrying out the functions of the Commission.

(c) The Commission may prescribe such rules and regulations as are necessary for carrying out its functions, and may delegate functions to any member, officer, or employee of the Commission or of any other department or agency of the United States or of the Commonwealth of the Philippines.

(d) The Commission shall, so far as practicable, give consideration to, but need not await, or be bound by, the recommendations of the Filipino Rehabilitation Commission (created by the act approved June 29, 1944) with respect to Philippine war damage. The

Commission shall wind up its affairs not later than 2 years after the expiration of the time for filing claims under this title.

SEC. 102. (a) The Commission is hereby authorized to make compensation to the extent hereinafter provided on account of physical loss of or damage to property in the Philippine Islands occurring after December 7, 1941 (Philippine time), and before October 1, 1945, as a result of one or more of the following perils: (1) Enemy attack (including action taken by or at the request of the military, naval, or air forces of the United States in resisting enemy attack); (2) action taken by enemy representatives, civil or military, or by the representatives of any government cooperating with the enemy; (3) action by the armed forces of the United States or other forces cooperating with the armed forces of the United States in expelling the enemy from the Philippine Islands; (4) looting, pillage, or other lawlessness or disorder accompanying the collapse of civil authority or incidental to control by enemy forces: *Provided*, That such compensation shall be payable only to qualified persons having, on December 7, 1941 (Philippine time), and continuously to and including the time of loss or damage, an insurable interest as owner, mortgagee, lien holder, or pledgee in such property so lost or damaged: *Provided further*, That any qualified person who acquired any deceased person's interest in any property either (1) as heir, devisee, legatee, or distributee, or (2) as executor or administrator of the estate of any such deceased person for the benefit of one or more heirs, devisees, legatees, or distributees, all of whom are qualified persons, shall be deemed to have had the same interest in such property during such deceased person's lifetime that such deceased person had: *Provided further*, That no payment or payments shall be made in an aggregate amount which exceeds whichever of the following amounts, as determined by the Commission, is less: (a) The actual cash value, at the time of loss, of property lost or destroyed and the amount of the actual damage to other property of the claimant which was damaged as a direct result of the causes enumerated in this section; (b) the cost of repairing or rebuilding such lost or damaged property, or replacing the same with other property of like or similar quality: *Provided further*, That in case the aggregate amount of the claims which would be payable to any one claimant under the foregoing provisions exceeds \$500, the aggregate amount of the claims payable to such claimant shall be reduced by 25 percent of the excess over \$500.

(b) When used in this section, the term "qualified person" means—

(1) any individual, who on December 7, 1941 (Philippine time), and continuously to the time of filing claim pursuant to this title, was a citizen of the United States or of the Philippine Commonwealth or of the Philippine Republic;

(2) any individual, who at any time subsequent to September 16, 1940, and prior to August 14, 1945, served honorably in the armed forces of the United States or of the Philippine Commonwealth, or honorably performed "service in the merchant marine" (as defined in the first section of the act entitled "An act to provide reemployment rights for persons who leave their positions to serve in the merchant marine, and for other purposes," approved June 23, 1943);

(3) any church or other religious organization; and

(4) any corporation (or, upon dissolution, its successor if it satisfies the requirements of this paragraph (4)) organized pursuant to the laws of any of the several States or of the United States or of any Territory or possession thereof (including any corporation or sociedad anonima organized pursuant to the laws in effect in the Philippine Islands at the time of its organization), but excluding any corporation wholly owned by the

Commonwealth of the Philippines (or the Philippine Republic).

SEC. 103. The Commission shall make no payment under the provisions of this title—

(a) to any enemy alien;

(b) to any person who, by a civil or military court having jurisdiction, has been found guilty of collaborating with the enemy, or of any act involving disloyalty to the United States or the Philippine Commonwealth;

(c) to any corporation or sociedad anonima owned or controlled by any of the persons specified in clauses (a) and (b) of this section;

(d) to compensate for any loss of or damage to property which, at the time of loss or damage, was insured against any one or more of the perils specified in section 102 hereof, except to the extent that the loss or damage exceeds the amount of such insurance, whether or not collectible;

(e) to compensate for any loss or damage—

(1) for which the War Department or the Navy Department is authorized to make payment, or

(2) for which compensation or indemnity is otherwise payable, or has been paid, or is authorized to be paid, by the Philippine Government or by the United States Government or by their respective departments, establishments, or agencies,

unless the Government, department, establishment, or agency concerned has declined to pay compensation or indemnity for such loss or damage;

(f) unless the claimant shall file with the Commission, within 9 months after the enactment hereof, a claim in reasonable conformity with the requirements of this title and such reasonable regulations as shall be established by the Commission.

SEC. 104. (a) No claim shall be paid unless approved by the Commission or its authorized representatives, and on account of each claim so approved the Commission may make immediate payment of (1) so much of the approved amount of the claim as does not exceed \$500 or 1,000 Philippine pesos, plus (2) 80 percent of the remainder of the approved amount of the claim. After the time for filing claims has expired, the Commission shall determine the amount of money available for the further payment of claims. Such funds shall be applied pro rata toward the payment of the unpaid balances of the amounts authorized to be paid pursuant to section 102 of this title.

(b) Of the funds appropriated for the purpose of paying compensation under this title, \$5,000,000 shall be set aside for the payment of claims filed by churches and other religious organizations on account of loss of or damage to property consisting of churches, parish houses, and other property devoted to religious purposes (excluding schools, hospitals, and other charitable institutions). Subsection (a) of this section shall not be applicable with respect to claims filed by churches and other religious organizations with respect to such property; but, after the time for filing claims has expired, the funds set aside pursuant to this subsection shall be applied pro rata toward paying such amounts as are authorized to be paid pursuant to section 102 with respect to claims filed by churches and other religious organizations with respect to such property, and shall be applied without discrimination to the proportional payment of all allowable claims filed by churches and other religious organizations with respect to such property. No payments with respect to such claims shall be made except from the funds set aside pursuant to this subsection.

(c) The Commission may, at its option, make payment, in whole or in part, of the amount payable in the case of any claim authorized to be paid under this title by rebuilding or repairing lost or damaged property, or replacing it with other property of like or similar kind. The amount expended for such purpose in any case, including the

fair value of property transferred to the claimant, shall be deemed to have been paid to the claimant on account of his claim, and such amount shall in no case exceed the amount authorized to be paid under this title on account of such claim. The Commission is authorized to acquire such property, to have such work done, to make such contracts, and to take such other action as may be necessary for the purposes of this subsection.

(d) All of the provisions of this title shall be subject to the requirement that, to the fullest extent practicable, the Commission shall require that the lost or damaged property be rebuilt, replaced, or repaired before payments of money are actually made to claimants under this title.

SEC. 105. Not later than 6 months after its organization, and every 6 months thereafter, the Commission shall make a report to the Congress concerning operations under this title.

SEC. 106. (a) There is hereby authorized to be appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the amount of \$330,000,000 for the purposes of paying compensation to the extent authorized by this title, and of such sum, not to exceed \$1,500,000 shall be available to pay the expenses of the Commission.

(b) Any sums received by the United States from the Japanese Government or the Japanese people by way of reparations or indemnity on account of the war—

(1) shall be covered into the Treasury of the United States until the sums so covered into the Treasury are equal to the sum of the amounts appropriated for the payment of compensation under this title and the amounts appropriated for carrying out the purposes of title III of this act;

(2) when the amounts covered into the Treasury under clause (1) are equal to the amounts so appropriated, one-half of any further sums so received by the United States from the Japanese shall be covered into the Treasury of the United States and the other one-half shall be paid to the Government of the Commonwealth of the Philippines (or the Philippine Republic) until the amount so paid to such government plus the amounts appropriated for the payment of compensation under this title and the amount appropriated for carrying out the purposes of title III are equal to the amount estimated by the Commission to represent the total loss of and damage to real and tangible personal property in the Philippine Islands from the causes enumerated in section 102 (a); and

(3) thereafter shall be covered into the Treasury of the United States.

SEC. 107. Whoever, in the Philippine Islands or elsewhere, makes any statement or representation knowing it to be false, or whoever willfully overvalues loss of or damage to property for the purpose of obtaining for himself or for any claimant any compensation pursuant to this title, or for the purpose of influencing in any way the action of the Commission with respect to any claim for compensation pursuant to this title, or for the purpose of obtaining money, property, or anything of value under this title, shall, upon conviction, be punished by a fine of not more than \$5,000 or by imprisonment for not more than 2 years, or both.

SEC. 108. No remuneration on account of services rendered or to be rendered to or on behalf of any claimant in connection with any claim for compensation pursuant to this title shall exceed 5 percent of the compensation paid by the Commission on account of such claim. Any agreement to the contrary shall be unlawful and void. Whoever, in the Philippine Islands or elsewhere, receives on account of services rendered or to be rendered in connection with any claims for compensation hereunder, any remuneration in excess of the maximum permitted by this section shall be deemed guilty of a misde-

meanor and, upon conviction thereof, shall be fined not more than \$1,000 or imprisoned for not more than 6 months, or both.

SEC. 109. Except as lawfully provided in policies of insurance heretofore or hereafter issued by the War Damage Corporation pursuant to subsection (a) of section 5g of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation Act, as amended, the authority herein granted to the Philippine War Damage Commission shall be in lieu of and shall supersede all authority previously conferred on the War Damage Corporation to furnish protection or pay compensation with respect to property situated, at the time of loss or damage, in the Philippine Islands, and the protection authorized to be extended and the compensation authorized to be paid by the Philippine War Damage Commission shall be in lieu of all protection heretofore extended or authorized to be extended by the War Damage Corporation with respect to property situated, at the time of loss or damage, in the Philippine Islands, except to the extent provided in policies of insurance heretofore or hereafter issued by the War Damage Corporation. The War Damage Corporation is hereby prohibited from providing for or paying compensation for war damage in the Philippine Islands except to the extent provided in its policies of insurance heretofore or hereafter issued in consideration of a premium paid therefor.

SEC. 110. The classes of property enumerated in this section, whether situated in the Philippine Islands or elsewhere, are hereby excluded from protection, compensation, or consideration under this title, and the Commission shall not make any payment, directly or indirectly, on account of loss of or damage to such classes of property:

(1) Accounts, bills, records, films, plans, drawings, formulas, currency, deeds, evidences of debt, securities, money, bullion, furs, jewelry, stamps, precious and semi-precious stones, works of art, antiques, stamp and coin collections, manuscripts, books and printed publications more than 50 years old, models, curiosities, objects of historical or scientific interest, and pleasure aircraft;

(2) Vessels and watercraft, their cargoes and equipment, except (a) vessels used or intended to be used exclusively for storage, housing, manufacturing, or generating power, (b) vessels while under construction until delivery by the builder, or sailing on delivery or trial trip, whichever shall first occur, and (c) vessels propelled by sail;

(3) Real property (other than standing timber, growing crops, and orchards) not a part of a building or structure;

(4) Intangible property;

(5) Passenger-carrying motor vehicles except those used principally for commercial purposes;

(6) Property diverted to the Philippine Islands, by authority of the United States Government or otherwise, as a result of war conditions; and

(7) Property in transit (a) which at the time of loss or damage was insured against war perils, or (b) with respect to which insurance against such perils was available, at the time of loss or damage either at reasonable commercial rates or from the United States Maritime Commission.

SEC. 111. All departments, commissions, offices, agencies, and instrumentalities of the United States Government, upon the written request of the Commission, are authorized to make delivery and conveyance to designated claimants, or to the Commission, of any surplus property of the United States in the Philippine Islands deemed by the Commission to be similar to that for which compensation is requested, or to be suitable for the rebuilding or repair of the property damaged or destroyed. The transfer of such property to such claimants shall be at the fair value of the property as fixed by the dis-

posal agency. The Commission shall pay such fair value to the disposal agency.

SEC. 112. The War Damage Corporation is authorized and directed to consult with, and in every manner possible to assist and cooperate with, the Commission, to aid the Commission in its performance of duties hereunder, and to make available to or deliver to the Commission all records, claims, files, and other documents in its possession pertaining to Philippine claims. The Commission is authorized to give such weight as it may deem proper to any reports, certificates, or recommendations of the War Damage Corporation, or its adjusters or claims service offices.

SEC. 113. The Commission shall notify all claimants of the approval or denial of their claims, and, if approved, shall notify such claimants of the amount for which such claims are approved. Any claimant whose claim is denied, or is approved for less than the full allowable amount of said claim, shall be entitled, under such regulations as the Commission may prescribe, to a hearing before the Commission or its representatives with respect to such claim. Upon such hearing, the Commission may affirm, modify, or reverse its former action with respect to such claim, including a denial or reduction in the amount of a claim theretofore approved. All findings of the Commission concerning the amount of loss or damage sustained, the cause of such loss or damage, the persons to whom compensation pursuant to this title is payable, and the value of the property lost or damaged, shall be conclusive and shall not be reviewable by any court.

TITLE II—DISPOSAL OF SURPLUS PROPERTY

SEC. 201. In order to expedite the disposition of surplus property of the United States in the Philippine Islands and to aid in—

(1) repairing and replacing buildings, equipment, and other property of the Commonwealth of the Philippines and other governmental units in the Philippines, in cases where such buildings, equipment, or other property have been damaged, lost, or destroyed in the war, and otherwise restoring and facilitating the normal operations of governmental units in the Philippines;

(2) restoring and providing essential public buildings, services, works, and utilities, including hospitals, schools, and other institutions furnishing essential health and welfare services in the Philippines; and

(3) rehabilitating the economy of the Philippines and aiding and encouraging private enterprise in such economy; the Department of State, the disposal agency for the Philippines designated under the Surplus Property Act of 1944, acting through the Foreign Liquidation Commissioner (hereinafter referred to as the "Commissioner"), is hereby authorized, notwithstanding any other provision of law, to transfer to the Commonwealth of the Philippines, without reimbursement, property of the United States now or hereafter located in the Philippine Islands and declared surplus under the Surplus Property Act of 1944, upon such terms and conditions, including the use or disposition of such property by the Commonwealth of the Philippines, as the Commissioner may deem appropriate to carry out the purposes of this title.

SEC. 202. At the time any such property is so transferred to the Commonwealth of the Philippines, the Commissioner shall make a record of (1) the items transferred, (2) the condition of such items, and (3) his estimate of the fair value of such items. The Department of State shall furnish a copy of such record to the Surplus Property Administrator, and shall also make quarterly reports to the President and the Congress concerning the administration of this title.

SEC. 203. Any surplus property now or hereafter located in the Philippines which is not transferred to the Commonwealth of

the Philippines under section 201, may be disposed of by the Commissioner by sale, upon such terms and conditions as the Commissioner determines to be best suited for achieving the purposes stated in section 201, and without regard to other provisions of law relating to the sale or disposition of property of the United States. Any such sale may be made for a consideration greater or less than the fair value of the property concerned. In making such sale, the Commissioner may accept pesos as consideration. Any such surplus property which has not been disposed of by the Commissioner may be requisitioned by any other department or agency of the United States for its own use; and, upon the receipt of any such requisition, the Commissioner shall transfer such property to the requisitioning department or agency upon reimbursement of the fair value thereof. The proceeds derived from any disposal of surplus property by the Commissioner under this title shall be covered into the Treasury of the United States. If the consideration upon any disposal of property by the Commissioner be other property, such other property may be disposed of by the Commissioner in the same manner as surplus property located in the Philippines.

SEC. 204. No military weapons, munitions, or toxic gas shall be transferred or otherwise disposed of under this title.

SEC. 205. The Commissioner is authorized to appoint an advisory committee to advise him upon the action to be taken by him under this title.

SEC. 206. The fair value of the property transferred to the Commonwealth of the Philippines under this title, as estimated by the Commissioner, shall not exceed \$30,000,000 in the aggregate.

SEC. 207. The Commissioner may prescribe such rules and regulations as may be necessary for the performance of his functions under this title, and may delegate and authorize successive redelegations of any authority conferred upon him by this title to any officer or employee of his agency or of any other department or agency of the United States or of the Commonwealth of the Philippines.

TITLE III—RESTORATION AND IMPROVEMENT OF PUBLIC PROPERTY AND ESSENTIAL PUBLIC SERVICES

SEC. 301. As a manifestation of good will to the Filipino people, there are hereby authorized to be appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, (1) the sum of \$120,000,000, to be allocated from time to time by the President of the United States among the various programs set forth in sections 302, 303, 304, and 305, and (2) such additional sums as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of sections 306 to 311, inclusive.

PUBLIC ROADS

SEC. 302. (a) As recommended in a report based upon an investigation now being made in the Philippine Islands by the Public Roads Administration of the Federal Works Agency, and to the extent that the findings in such report are approved by the President, the Public Roads Administration is authorized to plan, design, restore, and build, in accordance with its usual contract procedures, such roads, essential streets, and bridges as may be necessary from the standpoint of the national defense and economic rehabilitation and development of the Philippine Islands.

(b) The Commissioner of Public Roads is authorized, under such regulations as he may adopt, to provide training for not to exceed 10 Filipino engineers, to be designated by the President of the Philippine Islands from the regularly employed staff of the Philippine Public Works Department subject to the provisions of section 311 (c), in the construction, maintenance, and highway traffic engineering and control necessary for the continued maintenance and for the ef-

ficient and safe operation of highway transport facilities.

PORT AND HARBOR FACILITIES

SEC. 303. (a) As recommended in a report based upon an investigation now being made in the Philippine Islands by the Corps of Engineers of the United States Army and to the extent that the findings in such report are approved by the President, the Corps of Engineers is authorized to carry out a program for the rehabilitation, improvement, and construction of port and harbor facilities in the Philippine Islands, such work to be done by contract, insofar as practicable, under the direction of the Secretary of War and the supervision of the Chief of Engineers, and in accordance with established procedures applicable to river and harbor projects.

(b) The Chief of Engineers of the Army is authorized, under such regulations as he may adopt, to provide training for not to exceed 10 Filipino engineers; to be designated by the President of the Philippine Islands from among the engineer officers of the Philippine Army and the regularly employed staff of the Philippine Public Works Department subject to the provisions of section 311 (c), in the construction, improvement, and maintenance of port facilities and other works of improvements on rivers and harbors.

PUBLIC PROPERTY

SEC. 304. The Philippine War Damage Commission, within the limits of the appropriations allocated to it for carrying out the provisions of this section, is authorized to compensate the Commonwealth of the Philippines (or the Philippine Republic), the provincial governments, chartered cities, municipalities, and corporations wholly owned by the Commonwealth of the Philippines (or the Philippine Republic), in the Philippine Islands, for physical loss of or damage to public property in the Philippine Islands occurring after December 7, 1941 (Philippine time), and before October 1, 1945, as a result of the perils listed in section 102 (a) hereof, in any case in which compensation for such losses or the rebuilding, repair, or replacement of the lost or damaged property is not provided for by the transfer of surplus property under section 201 hereof, or provided for under the provisions of this title other than this section or otherwise provided for by the United States Government or any department or agency thereof. To the fullest extent practicable, the Commission shall require that any lost or damaged property for which it decides to award compensation under this section shall be rebuilt, replaced, or repaired before payments of money are actually made to claimants under this section. The Commission in its discretion may request the Federal Works Agency or the Corps of Engineers of the United States Army to undertake the rebuilding, repair, or replacement of property for which the Commission awards compensation under this section, and, from the funds available for carrying out the provisions of this section, may transfer to such Agency or Corps of Engineers the funds necessary to pay for the work requested. The Federal Works Agency and the Corps of Engineers are authorized to rebuild, repair, or replace property in accordance with any such request of the Commission and to expend the funds so transferred to them for such purpose. The Commission shall have full power to select, and fix the priority of, cases in which compensation will be awarded or property rebuilt, repaired, or replaced under this section, and to determine the amount of such compensation and the extent to which such property will be rebuilt, repaired, or replaced, taking into account the relative importance of various projects to the reconstruction and reconversion of the economy of the Philippine Islands and such other factors as the Commission deems relevant.

PUBLIC HEALTH

SEC. 305. (a) The Public Health Service of the Federal Security Agency is authorized to cooperate with the Government of the Philippine Islands, and with other appropriate agencies or organizations, in the rehabilitation and development of public health services and facilities throughout the Philippine Islands.

(b) To accomplish such purposes the Public Health Service shall at the earliest practicable time survey the health situation in the Philippine Islands, and is authorized to replace, expand, or install such health services and facilities in the Philippine Islands as are deemed essential to preservation of health, and may assist in the rehabilitation and development of a Philippine quarantine service for prevention of introduction of disease from abroad or from one island to another. The Public Health Service may set up demonstrations and establish training centers in the Philippine Islands; may establish and maintain in the Philippine Islands a school or schools for the purpose of providing practical instruction in public health; and may, at any time prior to January 1, 1948, provide 1 year of training in appropriate schools or colleges in the United States to not more than 100 Filipinos, to be designated by the President of the Philippine Islands subject to the provisions of section 311 (c), in public health methods and administration. It may replace equipment and supply reasonably necessary additional equipment, utilizing for this purpose, so far as possible, surplus property, and may recommend to the Commission the repair or construction under the provisions of section 304, at any time prior to July 1, 1950, of buildings deemed essential to the rehabilitation of public health and quarantine functions.

INTERISLAND COMMERCE

SEC. 306. (a) In order to restore and improve interisland commerce in the Philippine Islands, the United States Maritime Commission is authorized to charter under such terms and conditions (including nominal rates of charter hire) vessels of less than 2,000 gross tons to individuals, corporations, or cooperatives or other forms of business organizations in the Philippine Islands if the Commission determines that they possess the ability, experience, financial resources, and other qualifications, necessary to enable them to operate and maintain the vessel in the interisland commerce in the Philippine Islands: *Provided*, That any charter entered into under the authority of this section shall contain a provision requiring that the vessel shall be operated only in the interisland commerce in the Philippine Islands.

(b) The Chairman, United States Maritime Commission, is hereby authorized to permit not exceeding 50 Filipinos each year, to be designated by the President of the Philippine Islands subject to the provisions of section 311 (c), to receive instruction in the United States Merchant Marine Cadet Corps and at the United States Merchant Marine Academy at Kings Point, N. Y. The persons receiving instruction under authority of this section shall receive the same pay, allowances, and emoluments, to be paid from the same appropriations, and, subject to such exceptions as may be determined by the chairman, United States Maritime Commission, shall be subject to the same rules and regulations governing admission, attendance, discipline, resignation, discharge, dismissal, and graduation, as cadet midshipmen at the Merchant Marine Academy appointed from the United States; but such persons shall not be entitled to appointment to any office or position in the United States merchant marine by reason of their graduation from the Merchant Marine Academy.

INTERISLAND AIR NAVIGATION

SEC. 307. (a) The Administrator of Civil Aeronautics of the Department of Commerce

is authorized to acquire, establish, operate, and to maintain a system of air-navigation facilities and associated airways communications services in the Philippine Islands for interisland airways operation and to connect the Philippine airways with international and interoceanic routes.

(b) The Administrator of Civil Aeronautics is authorized, under such regulations as he may adopt, to train not exceeding 50 Filipinos each year, to be designated by the President of the Philippine Island subject to the provisions of section 311 (c), in air-traffic control, aircraft communications, maintenance of air-navigation facilities, and such other airman functions as are deemed necessary for the maintenance and operation of aids to air navigation and other services essential to the orderly and safe operation of air traffic.

WEATHER INFORMATION

SEC. 308. (a) The Chief of the Weather Bureau of the Department of Commerce is authorized to establish meteorological facilities in the Philippine Islands as may be required to provide weather information, warnings, and forecasts for general agricultural and commercial activities, including meteorological service for the air routes on which air-navigation facilities are operated by the Civil Aeronautics Administration, and to maintain such meteorological offices until the Philippine Weather Bureau is reestablished and in position to assume responsibility for the service.

(b) The Chief of the Weather Bureau of the Department of Commerce is authorized, under such regulations as he may adopt, to train not to exceed 50 Filipinos in the first year and not to exceed 25 Filipinos in each succeeding year, the trainees to be designated by the President of the Philippine Islands subject to the provisions of section 311 (c), and the training to include meteorological observations, analyses, forecasting, briefing of pilots, and such other meteorological duties as are deemed necessary in maintenance of general weather service, including weather information required for air navigation and the safe operation of air traffic. The training of these employees shall be in addition and not in lieu of Weather Bureau employees to be trained under current Weather Bureau appropriations.

PHILIPPINE FISHERIES

SEC. 309. (a) The Fish and Wildlife Service of the Department of the Interior is authorized to cooperate with the Government of the Philippine Islands, and with other appropriate agencies or organizations, in the rehabilitation and development of the fishing industry, and in the investigation and conservation of the fishery resources of the Philippine Islands and adjacent waters.

(b) To accomplish such purposes the Fish and Wildlife Service shall conduct oceanographic, biological, fish cultural, technological, engineering, statistical, economic, and market development studies and demonstrations and fishery explorations, and in conjunction therewith may establish and maintain a vocational school or schools of fisheries in the Philippine Islands for the purpose of providing practical instruction and training in the fisheries; and may, at any time prior to July 1, 1950, provide 1 year of training to not more than 125 Filipinos, to be designated by the President of the Philippine Islands subject to the provisions of section 311 (c), in methods of deep-sea fishing and in other techniques necessary to the development of fisheries.

(c) The Fish and Wildlife Service is authorized to acquire, construct, maintain, equip, and operate such research and experimental stations, schools, research and exploratory fishing vessels, or any other facilities in the Philippine Islands that may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this section.

(d) The Maritime Commission is authorized, upon recommendation of the Fish and Wildlife Service of the Department of the Interior, to make arrangements for the transfer by sale or charter of small vessels, considered by the Maritime Commission to be satisfactory for the purpose, to be used in the establishment and continuance of a fishing industry to be operated in or near the Philippine Islands. Such transfers may be made on such terms and conditions, including transfer for a nominal consideration, as the Maritime Commission may approve, but only if, in the opinion of the Fish and Wildlife Service, such small vessels so to be used for Philippine Island fishing are not needed by the fishing industry of the United States, its Territories, and possessions.

COAST AND GEODETIC SURVEYS

SEC. 310. The Coast and Geodetic Survey of the Department of Commerce is authorized to continue, until June 30, 1950, the survey work which was being conducted by it in the Philippine Islands prior to December 7, 1941. The Director of the Coast and Geodetic Survey is authorized to train not exceeding 20 Filipinos each year, to be designated by the President of the Philippine Islands subject to the provisions of section 311 (c), in order that they may become qualified to take over and continue such survey work on and after July 1, 1950, and to pay all expenses incident to their temporary employment and training.

GENERAL PROVISIONS

SEC. 311. (a) The Government of the Philippine Islands shall provide all lands, easements, and rights-of-way necessary for the execution of the projects herein authorized.

(b) The several bureaus and agencies of the Government authorized by this title to undertake projects in the Philippine Islands are hereby authorized, in the prosecution of such projects, to cooperate with the Government of the Philippine Commonwealth (or the Philippine Republic), and to accept contributions of labor, materials, and money from such Government and its political subdivisions and to utilize such labor, materials, and money in the prosecution of such projects.

(c) Wherever in this title the training of Filipinos at the expense of the United States Government is authorized, the head of the bureau or agency under whose supervision or control the training is given may establish minimum requirements as to education and experience, provide for competitive examinations, or establish such other standards for qualification for such training as in his judgment may seem necessary and advisable, and under such regulations as may be adopted from time to time may provide for the payment of all expenses incidental to such training, including, but not limited to, actual transportation expenses to and from and in the United States, allowances for tuition, educational fees, and subsistence.

(d) Notwithstanding the provisions of section 3 of the act of February 5, 1917 (39 Stat. 875), and section 8 of the act of March 24, 1934 (48 Stat. 456), any Filipino who is appointed for training or instruction as provided in this act may be admitted to the United States for such training or instruction upon certification to the Immigration and Naturalization Service by the head of the bureau or agency under whose supervision the training or instruction is to be given that such entry is necessary in connection with the training or instruction: *Provided*, That the privilege of entering or remaining in the United States for such purposes shall terminate within a reasonable time after discontinuance of the training or instruction or upon failure of the person appointed to abide by the conditions of his appointment: *And provided further*, That the head of the bureau or agency concerned may at any time terminate the appointment of any person ap-

pointed under this act if in his judgment the best interests of either the United States or the Philippine Government make such action advisable, and his decision shall be final and conclusive.

(e) Unless otherwise provided by law this title shall expire on June 30, 1950.

TITLE IV—THE UNITED STATES HIGH COMMISSIONER

SEC. 401. Until the Philippine Islands attain their independence, the functions, powers, and duties exercised in the Philippine Islands by any officer, employee, department, or agency of the United States in carrying out the provisions of this act shall be exercised under the general supervision of the United States High Commissioner to the Philippine Islands, and the officers, employees, offices, missions, and other agencies exercising such functions, powers, and duties shall be deemed to be attached to the office of the High Commissioner.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, having explained this bill on a previous occasion, unless there are some questions, I am reluctant to go over the ground the second time. The purpose of the bill, briefly, is to rehabilitate the Philippine Islands in the least costly way we can provide.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, there are some minor technical amendments I wish to bring to the attention of the chairman of the committee. On page 19, line 22, the following language appears:

As recommended in a report based upon an investigation now being made.

The investigation has been completed. I offer an amendment to strike out the words "now being", in line 23, on page 19.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, I have no objection.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina in the chair). Without objection, the amendment is agreed to.

Mr. HAYDEN. The same language appears on page 20, beginning in line 19, as follows:

As recommended in a report based upon an investigation now being made.

I offer an amendment to strike out the words "now being", in line 20, on page 20.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the amendment is agreed to.

Mr. HAYDEN. On page 28, line 24, of the bill, the full title should be "The United States Maritime Commission." I offer an amendment to insert the words "United States" before the word "Maritime."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the amendment is agreed to.

Mr. HAYDEN. Mr. President, I spoke to the chairman of the committee the other day with respect to paragraph (d) of section 311, appearing on page 31 of the bill. The question was raised by the Immigration and Naturalization Service that after the quota is filled, a Filipino would have a different status under the immigration law when the Philippines become independent than he previously had. That suggestion was contained in a letter from the Immigration and Naturalization Service which I placed in

the RECORD. I took the matter up with the drafting service, and Mr. Murphy of that service rewrote the paragraph, and, in order to make perfectly clear what will be done before and after independence with respect to Filipino students who come to the United States, I offer the amendment prepared by the drafting service.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, I have no objection to the amendment.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. On page 31, it is proposed to strike out lines 3 to 22, inclusive, and in lieu thereof to insert the following:

(d) Any Filipino who is designated for training or instruction as provided in this act may be admitted to the United States for such training or instruction upon certification to the Immigration and Naturalization Service by the head of the bureau or agency under whose supervision the training or instruction is to be given that such entry is necessary in connection with the training or instruction, notwithstanding the provisions of section 8 of the act of March 24, 1924 (48 Stat. 462; 48 U. S. C. 1238), and notwithstanding any provision of the laws of the United States relating to the immigration, exclusion, expulsion, or registration of aliens: *Provided*, That such admissions shall be deemed pursuant to section 3 (2) of the Immigration Act of 1924 (43 Stat. 154; 47 Stat. 607; 54 Stat. 711; 8 U. S. C. 203): *Provided further*, That the privilege of entering or remaining in the United States for such purposes shall end within a reasonable time, to be fixed by regulation of the Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization with the approval of the Attorney General, after termination of the training or instruction: *Provided further*, That the head of the bureau or agency concerned may at any time terminate the training or instruction of any person under this act if in his judgment the best interests of either the United States or the Philippine Government makes such action advisable, and his decision shall be final and conclusive: *Provided further*, That any such Filipino who shall fail to depart from the United States within the reasonable time fixed by regulation, as herein prescribed, shall be subject to being taken into custody and deported, as provided by section 14 of the Immigration Act of 1924 (43 Stat. 162; 8 U. S. C. 214).

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, I have no objection to the amendment.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, I should like to ask the Senator respecting the attitude of the committee toward the bill.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, has the amendment been disposed of?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The amendment has not been disposed of.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, has the Senator from Maine any objection to the amendment?

Mr. WHITE. No.

Mr. TYDINGS. I ask that the amendment be disposed of first.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the amendment offered by the Senator from Arizona? The Chair hears none, and, without objection, the amendment is agreed to.

Mr. TYDINGS. I now yield to the Senator from Maine.

Mr. WHITE. I want to be sure of my understanding as to the attitude of the committee toward the bill. I have had

the belief that it came to the Senate with the unanimous approval of the committee. Am I correct in that understanding?

Mr. TYDINGS. There was no adverse vote in the committee which passed on the bill.

Mr. WHITE. That is what I understood.

Mr. McCLELLAN. Mr. President, what is the total sum involved in this bill?

Mr. TYDINGS. The total sum involved in the bill cannot be given definitely in terms of money for the reason that a portion of the aid given to the Filipinos is in the form, first, of the sale of surplus property now in the Philippines, which those in charge of the property say cannot, in most cases, be economically transported back to the United States, and that to maintain it in the Philippines will entail a larger expense than perhaps its salvage value would justify. Therefore, if we eliminate items of that kind from the bill, which mean a great deal to the Philippines, the amount of remaining money would consist of approximately \$330,000,000. Of that \$330,000,000 there are \$200,000,000 in the War Damage Corporation. The Filipinos had no chance to obtain war insurance. However, by a letter of the Chairman of the War Damage Corporation it was provided that, even though they could not obtain insurance, they would be entitled to insurance up to \$100,000,000. So we have perhaps a legal as well as a moral obligation to the extent of \$100,000,000 of those funds which are now a profit to the Government, inasmuch as they were paid in and no money was paid out. So if we subtract that again from the amount of money provided by the bill that would reduce it to \$230,000,000.

However, the bill contains a provision that any money which may be received from Japan by way of reparations for damages shall be placed in our Treasury rather than in the Filipino treasury until the amounts provided for in this bill are completely liquidated.

So there is a reasonable possibility—I do not say it will happen—that when all the accounts are checked up, the cost of this program to the Treasury of the United States will be very much smaller than the figures which now appear in the bill.

Mr. McCLELLAN. In rehabilitating the Philippines to what extent are we going with respect to private property that is destroyed? Are we undertaking 100-percent rehabilitation?

Mr. TYDINGS. No; we are not.

Mr. McCLELLAN. To what extent are we going?

Mr. TYDINGS. We have adopted the philosophy of the average fire-insurance policy. Most of the fire-insurance policies contain the 80-percent clause. We have provided a top of approximately 75 percent of the estimated damages sustained for the Philippine War Damage Commission to pay. In addition to that we have eliminated every claim which is not filed by a national of the United States or of the Philippine Islands, and, difficult as it may be for us to realize it, that eliminates immediately one-third of

all the claims. The Chinese, who represent a large percentage of the population in the Philippines and who are quite largely interested in its industries and merchandising, are not included under the provision of this bill. So, therefore, we have eliminated, to begin with, one-third of all the private property claims, and are paying approximately 75 percent of the remaining private-property claims. And we have eliminated automobiles, jewelry, furs, and articles of that sort, because they are nonproductive in the rehabilitation of the Philippines, and we have centered our efforts on those things which, when reconstructed, will contribute to the economy and rehabilitation of the islands, rather than to pay claims to persons who might then leave the country and live on the money.

We have, furthermore, provided that the money so appropriated shall be used to reconstruct the industries and the buildings which have been damaged, rather than to pay in cash, the whole philosophy being to start the wheels of industry turning again so that employment will follow in their wake.

Mr. McCLELLAN. I thank the Senator. I should like to inquire further. How far are we to go with regard to rehabilitating or reconstructing Government property? Are we to go all the way with respect to such property?

Mr. TYDINGS. No; we are not. The bill provides first of all that the Government may receive without paying for it up to \$30,000,000 worth of the surplus property we now have in the Philippines. After that point the Government would buy any surplus property it wanted to acquire.

Mr. McCLELLAN. I think the Senator misunderstood me. What I am inquiring about is with reference to Government buildings or property of any character, which belonged to the Government or municipalities.

Mr. TYDINGS. The Senator from Arizona is familiar with the situation, and I will ask him to answer that question.

Mr. HAYDEN. The report which we received was to the effect that the Philippine National Government, the provinces, and cities, had suffered damage to the extent of about \$195,000,000.

Mr. TYDINGS. To Government property.

Mr. HAYDEN. To Government property. The theory of the committee was, first, that we would reimburse them as we reimbursed private individuals, at the rate of 75 percent. So we said, "At the outside, your reimbursement will be \$150,000,000. Of that, \$30,000,000 will be in the form of surplus property, which you may obtain as a gift. That leaves \$120,000,000. We will not give you a cent of that in cash." We sent to the islands some men from the Corps of Army Engineers. They are looking over the reports to which I referred a while ago. The reports relate to ships sunk or damaged, the repair of ports, and so forth.

Mr. TYDINGS. And repair of bridges, roads, and other facilities.

Mr. HAYDEN. Yes. We are undertaking to do constructive work for the

people of the Philippines which will help them to help themselves. That is the situation.

Mr. TYDINGS. Let me interject to say that in the course of the war the commander in chief in the Philippines issued orders to the Filipinos to destroy bridges, machinery, and other property, and told them that the Federal Government would compensate them. Therefore the thought projected by the Senator from Arizona is that in the case of public buildings, bridges, and other public enterprises, instead of giving the Filipino Government the money we are working out a plan for the rehabilitation of certain structures which were destroyed, and providing the sum of money which he has specified to be spent by us, under our own rules and under our own discretion, to accomplish rehabilitation.

Mr. McCLELLAN. I wonder if on other islands we have similar obligations which we shall have to meet.

Mr. TYDINGS. I know the Senator will agree with me that when we consider the whole Filipino problem, in view of the action taken in behalf of UNRRA, it is very difficult to withhold this practical help for a people who fought and died by our side. They have been completely loyal, and have contributed a great deal to the hastening of VJ-day.

Mr. McCLELLAN. I am not complaining, but I understand that the assistance rendered through UNRRA goes also to those who were our allies, and whom we liberated.

Mr. TYDINGS. That is correct.

Mr. McCLELLAN. They stood by our side.

Mr. TYDINGS. The situation in the Philippines is somewhat different. The Filipino people were under our own flag.

Mr. McCLELLAN. I think we owe them something, but I wished to inquire how far we were going.

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. TYDINGS. I yield.

Mr. LANGER. Is this bill different from the \$100,000,000 bill which the Senator introduced when he came back from the Philippines?

Mr. TYDINGS. It is the same in philosophy, but not in extent. It differs in extent only because full evidence has been adduced as to the need.

Let me say to the Senator from North Dakota that before we began consideration of the bill we asked the War Damage Corporation to make a comprehensive survey in the Philippines. We had figures from the military authorities, and we had figures from the Filipinos, but we wanted a survey by an independent agency of experts. The over-all picture of the damage which occurred in the Philippines is, roughly, approximately three-quarters of a billion dollars. As I have explained, this bill will probably cost the American Government finally not more than \$200,000,000 or \$300,000,000, if it costs that much, and with good fortune it may be that it will not cost us \$100,000,000.

Mr. LANGER. Is the amount provided by the pending bill in addition to the \$100,000,000 provided by the bill which the Senator originally introduced?

Mr. TYDINGS. No. The pending bill supplants the former measure. We have thrown certain restrictions around the expenditure, so that the amount of increase will probably come back into the Treasury.

Mr. LANGER. I should like to know why the Chinese are excluded.

Mr. TYDINGS. For this reason: If we included the Chinese we would have to include the British and the Dutch. We do not know whether those Governments, from the reparations which they will receive, will pay the claims of Americans who were in Java or Burma. The committee, therefore, excluded other nationals, with the understanding that in the future we would accord to any other nationals in the Philippines the same treatment accorded by foreign governments to our nationals, wherever they might be located.

Mr. LANGER. The majority of the Chinese claimants are not our nationals, are they?

Mr. TYDINGS. That is correct.

Mr. LANGER. What proportion of the total claims is represented by the claims of the Chinese?

Mr. TYDINGS. I should say that the claims of Chinese, British, and Dutch nationals together amount to nearly a third of all the damage claims which could be filed in the Philippines. They have all been excluded for the reasons which I have stated, after very careful consideration.

Mr. LANGER. What proportion of the claimants are Chinese?

Mr. TYDINGS. I should say a substantial proportion. I have not the figures at hand. They are in the report. My recollection is that more than half of them are Chinese.

Mr. LANGER. Would the Senator have any objection to including them in this bill?

Mr. TYDINGS. Yes. It would mean a tremendous change. Let me say to the Senator that we are not unsympathetic to that situation. Intelligent legislation will depend upon what reports we receive, how the claims are distributed, and many other factors. For example, suppose Japan should pay \$1,000,000,000 in reparations. Suppose we should forego our share of it, and let the Chinese, who certainly deserve well of us, have it, and suppose we should provide that Chinese nationals in the Philippines should be compensated on the same basis as that which applies to others provided for in the bill. It was because of all those imponderables that we did not venture into the field of foreign nationalism at this stage.

Mr. LANGER. As I understand, the committee is not going to discriminate against the poor Chinese.

Mr. TYDINGS. No. We are sympathetic; but this is not the time to consider that question. We could not consider it intelligently.

Mr. LANGER. I am in favor of this bill, but I wished to be sure that the Chinese were given the same protection as that accorded to other nationals.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. TYDINGS. I yield.

Mr. TAFT. I think we might say that even China, while not in a very satisfactory financial condition, could perhaps assist our nationals in China in replacing some of the buildings destroyed. The Chinese could at least provide local currency. So we simply left this question for a future deal, so to speak, with the governments of those countries where we have nationals who have lost their property during the war. We should like to see them receive the same kind of treatment, so far as it is within the capacity of those governments, that we give their nationals in the Philippine Islands.

Mr. TYDINGS. As the Senator from Ohio says, when we know what that is, we will do our part, in line with what I have already stated.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, I should like to make a brief statement in support of the bill.

The destruction of property in the Philippine Islands, as estimated by the War Damage Corporation, is about \$800,000,000. That loss is divided as follows: \$195,000,000 of public property; \$139,000,000 of church property; and \$464,000,000 of private property. That is an estimate, but it is an estimate made by intelligent men.

At the beginning of the war we adopted the policy of insuring all property in the United States. The President of the United States set aside \$100,000,000 for the purpose of insuring American property which might be destroyed by bombing or otherwise. In the early part of 1942 we enacted a law extending such insurance all over the United States. It followed the general policy of the British Government, which levied a tax on every piece of property, and from that tax paid the war damage. We could not levy a direct property tax, so we had to make the insurance system a voluntary system. But it was to a large extent a Government affair. We charged people in the Mississippi Valley just as large premiums as we charged on the coast, although the risk was probably only a fifth or a tenth of what the risk was on the Atlantic coast. We adopted that principle.

Under the President's first declaration the plan was extended to the Philippine Islands. We were unable to continue the voluntary system in the Philippine Islands simply because the people there were not able to take out the insurance. Besides, we did not know whether we would ever get the islands back, what their condition might be, or whether we could check the damage. So the plan was not extended to the Philippine Islands, although the original act authorized it to be so extended, and although, so far as I can see, the principle was absolutely applicable. It was applicable in Hawaii, and to a limited extent we have paid out of that fund war damages to persons in Hawaii. I believe that some damage in this country has been paid for.

So far as I am concerned, in the consideration of this question, the Philippines are a part of the United States. They fought on our side. They were a possession of the United States. To my mind, for this purpose they were just as

much American citizens as the people of this country, and I thought we should treat them approximately as we would have treated people in California if California had been similarly devastated. If there had been an invasion of California, I cannot doubt that, with the policy established by the War Damage Insurance Act, we would have paid all the war damage in California. In the case of the Philippines we know what the actual condition is. The Philippines are the only part of the United States which has suffered physical damage, and I believe we should be extremely generous in settling the Philippine claims.

We have provided, in effect, that the war-damage insurance funds shall be effective up to 75 percent, provided the money is used for the replacement of property actually destroyed. Under the insurance plan, the government would have been able to insure its property, just as a State would have been able to insure its property in this country. We have provided approximately \$150,000,000 worth of work or surplus property for the Philippine government. That also is approximately on a 75-percent basis. But we feel that they should participate. They are able to provide labor, perhaps, to help in the reconstruction. They are able to borrow money locally for that purpose if they do not have the money themselves—and they may have the money.

So in their case we have provided that the Federal Government itself will have work done and will expend money and will give surplus property up to \$150,000,000. That is to be done by the Federal Government, so far as the roads are concerned. The Public Roads Administration will rebuild the roads to the extent that the Commission thinks that should be done and is possible to do under this total over-all limitation. The Army engineers are directed to rebuild the wharf facilities. The Commission will also call on the Army engineers or the Public Roads Administration to rebuild the railroads, for instance, and to put them back into operating condition, or to rebuild the electric-light and public-service plants. That will be the course of the larger operations. If there is any money left, other damage may be paid for—for instance, in order to help the government replace some of its public buildings and public property.

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. TAFT. I yield.

Mr. WILEY. Will the Senator give us an estimate of the total amount of money which the American people will contribute for the rehabilitation of the Philippines?

Mr. TAFT. The total cost probably will be in the neighborhood of \$450,000,000, to cover a total, actual, out-of-pocket loss of \$800,000,000. If we obtain reparations from Japan, which otherwise probably would go to the Philippines, where the damage occurred, we shall reimburse ourselves from those reparations. Furthermore, from the insurance plan we have collected \$220,000,000 worth of war-damage-insurance premiums, and I think that money can

properly be limited to the repairing of damage. In other words, the people in this country had their insurance. They were fortunate; there was no bombing here; and we have premiums in the amount of \$220,000,000. That money has been put into the Treasury. In substance, it will cover approximately 75 percent of the private-property damage for which we shall make reimbursement. So we can hardly say that that money will come out of our general tax receipts. Thirty million dollars of the \$450,000,000 will come out of surplus property. Probably it would cost more to bring it back to this country and sell here than to turn it over to the Philippine government.

So I do not believe the actual out-of-pocket expense will exceed the expense of the Army and the Navy and the Army engineers and the Public Roads Administration in replacing the main facilities of the Philippine Islands.

I do not think our action is in any way overgenerous. I believe very strongly that in the Far East our whole prestige and the future opinion of the people of Far East of the United States will depend, as it has in the past so successfully, on our treatment of the Philippine Islands. If we can set up the Philippine Islands again so that they can move forward, so that they will not have to spend 5 or 10 years in scraping together the funds or whatever else it may be necessary for them to have in order to try to rebuild their cities and to replace their manufacturing facilities, I feel very strongly that throughout the Far East we shall receive from our contribution, because of our accomplishment in finishing the great job we have done in the Philippine Islands, a credit which will amount to far more than any money which we are called upon to spend under this bill.

Mr. President, I very strongly hope that the pending measure will be passed unanimously by the Senate, and I feel confident that we have worked out the fairest and most practical way of carrying through this great purpose.

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I am in favor of the bill, and I wish to state briefly my reasons for supporting it. There are intangible assets in this picture which amount to far more than the tangible assets. We know how the "underground" in the Philippines worked with the few American soldiers who escaped from Bataan and Corregidor into the mountains. We know how, by and large, the Philippine people cooperated with our military forces and made MacArthur's success possible. We may ask why that happened. The answer must be that in the Philippines the people generally felt that the Americans would carry through to the end, to see that the liberties of the Philippine people were regained. The Filipinos remembered the treatment which America had showered, we may say, on them in the years following our entrance into the Philippines. The Philippine people themselves are an example of how to bring about peace in this world. In other words, I mean that when we went into the Philippines, the Filipino people were a backward race. We did not take

from the Philippines; we gave to the Philippines. We took education to them; we took to them the American concept of the inviolability of contracts. We took to them, to a large extent, what has been known as the American way. The Philippine people, by and large, have appreciated what we gave to them.

Then the war came. The result was that we were paid back a hundredfold for all the generosity and all the fair dealing which we had bestowed on the Filipinos.

As has been suggested by the Senator from Ohio, the next century may belong to the Far East. China, with her 450,000,000 people, is in a state of ferment. China has been our friend. Why? The Chinese remember what we did in the days of the Boxer Rebellion. Mr. President, all of us recall that when indemnities were demanded from China, the United States was the one nation which said to China, "We do not want an indemnity. You take it and send to America the best young brains you have and let them receive an education in America, and then return to your land." That paid dividends a thousandfold.

Mr. President, now we are telling the people of the Philippines that America is going to spend \$450,000,000 to aid them in their work of rehabilitation. That is no small sum. Of course, a large proportion of it has already been accumulated in insurance premiums. But, Mr. President, we shall spend that \$450,000,000 to rehabilitate the Philippines, to rebuild universities, churches, highways, schools, and docks, and thus to bring into existence once again the economic life of a country which has been blotted out. We are trying to bring economic help to the Philippines. But that is not all, Mr. President; we are again doing for an Asiatic people what we did during the Boxer Rebellion days. We are endeavoring to manifest brotherhood in action. Words are cheap. Deeds are what count. We are sowing seed so that in future years it may well be said that America, looking ahead in 1945, did that thing which kept her safe in the emergency of this day and generation.

Mr. President, I am in favor of the bill.

THE PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill is before the Senate and open to further amendment. If there be no further amendment, the question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill (S. 1610) was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

INCREASE IN COMPENSATION OF FEDERAL EMPLOYEES

Mr. DOWNEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that at the conclusion of the consideration of the second measure which I understand the distinguished senior Senator from Maryland desires to have considered, the Federal pay bill (S. 1415) be made the unfinished business, subject to the following conditions: That the bill will not be taken up actively before the Senate until noon tomorrow, and that in no event will there be a vote upon the bill itself until Monday next or some day thereafter.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, merely in order to clarify the Senator's unanimous-consent request, I may say that he referred to the second piece of legislation which I desire to have considered. Senate bill 1610 has now been passed. The second measure is Senate Joint Resolution 119 which is a simple measure fixing a date for holding the next Filipino election. Passage of the joint resolution has been requested by the President of the Philippines.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, earlier in the day I objected to the unanimous-consent request of the Senator from California that the Federal pay bill be made the unfinished business. Since then informal discussions have taken place between Members of the Senate who are especially interested in the proposed legislation, and I believe that the request now made by the Senator from California embodies a tentative agreement entered into by all interested parties. I have no purpose to renew my objection.

Mr. DOWNEY. I thank the Senator. The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the request of the Senator from California?

There was no objection.

NATIONAL ELECTIONS IN THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Senate Joint Resolution 119 to provide for national elections in the Philippine Islands.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The joint resolution will be read by title for the information of the Senate.

The CHIEF CLERK. A joint resolution (S. J. Res. 119) to provide for national elections in the Philippine Islands.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Maryland.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, I am sorry that I did not hear the reference to the joint resolution because I was conversing with another Senator when the Senator from Maryland asked that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the measure.

Mr. TYDINGS. The joint resolution is to provide for national elections in the Philippine Islands. It results from a message which was sent from the White House a few days ago in which President Truman and President Osmeña joined.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Maryland that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Senate Joint Resolution 119.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to consider the joint resolution.

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, although the joint resolution is short and speaks for itself, I wish to make a brief explanation of it.

As a result of the war which took place in the Philippine Islands, the poll books, election registers, and all the election machinery were largely destroyed. It is, therefore, difficult to hold an election in the Philippine Islands as of today. Furthermore, the country is economically paralyzed and many of its people are

dislocated. It has been necessary for the Army and the Navy to go in and feed the people and take possession of wide areas. Because of the war, it was not possible to hold elections on the date specified in the Filipino Constitution. One of the reasons for that situation was that the Japanese were in possession when the date for the elections arrived. Since then it has not been possible to hold elections. It is now necessary that the country be politically reconstituted by an election of a president, vice president, and members of congress.

The pending joint resolution proposes to fix a date, providing that the Philippine government does not fix a prior date. The joint resolution will be effective only in the event that the Philippine Government fails to act.

The joint resolution comes before the Senate upon the request of the president of the Philippine Islands, as well as upon the request of the President of the United States. I cannot see why any Senator should oppose the measure. It is merely an additional one to help the Filipinos get back into their former stride of balanced, stable, political and governmental operations.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The joint resolution is before the Senate and open to amendment. If there be no amendment to be offered, the question is on the engrossment and third reading of the joint resolution.

The joint resolution (S. J. Res. 119) was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed, as follows:

Resolved, etc., That elections shall be held for national elective offices under the Commonwealth of the Philippines not later than April 30, 1946. The present Philippine Congress shall fix the date for such elections, and the date fixed shall not be subsequent to April 30, 1946. Should the present Philippine Congress fail to fix such date, then April 30, 1946, is hereby fixed as the date elections shall be held for national elective offices under the Commonwealth of the Philippines.

SEC. 2. The president and vice president then elected, the senators then elected (who shall be all but those then in office whose terms continue until December 30, 1947), and the members of the house of representatives shall take office, and the elected Philippine Congress shall convene in regular session not later than May 28, 1946. The present Philippine Congress shall fix the date or dates for the assumption of office and for the convening of the elected Philippine Congress in regular session, and the date or dates fixed shall not be subsequent to May 28, 1946. Should the present Philippine Congress fail to fix such date or dates, then May 28, 1946, is hereby fixed as the date for assumption of office and the convening of the elected Philippine Congress in regular session.

SEC. 3. The term of office of the president, vice president, and representatives then elected shall expire on the date which would have been the case had they assumed office on December 30, 1945. The terms of office of eight of the senators elected at such elections shall expire on the date which would have been the case had they assumed office on December 30, 1945; and the terms of eight senators then elected shall expire on the date which would have been the case had they assumed office on December 30, 1943. Division of the senators elected at such elections into these two classes shall be made in accordance with the constitution and laws of the

Commonwealth of the Philippines. The term of any senator then elected to fill a vacancy in a term expiring on December 30, 1947, shall expire on that date.

SEC. 4. The manner of holding such elections shall be as provided by the constitution and laws of the Commonwealth of the Philippines.

The preamble was agreed to.

INCREASE OF COMPENSATION OF FEDERAL EMPLOYEES

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 1415) to increase the rates of compensation of officers and employees of the Federal Government.

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, may I inquire of the majority leader what is the program for the remainder of the afternoon?

Mr. BARKLEY. I understood that following the passage of the joint resolution relating to elections in the Philippine Islands the so-called pay bill was to become the unfinished business.

Mr. DOWNEY. That was the agreement, but it was also agreed that consideration of the bill would be postponed.

Mr. BARKLEY. Yes. I believe that tomorrow the Senator from Maryland [Mr. RADCLIFFE] desires to have the Senate take up the bill from the Committee on Commerce which is known as the ship sale bill, consideration of which will not take very long. The Senator from California [Mr. DOWNEY] has indicated his willingness to allow consideration of the pay bill to be temporarily laid aside while the ship sale bill is being considered.

There is an informal understanding that the pay bill will not be voted on before next Monday. That does not mean, however, that amendments offered to it may not be voted upon during the remainder of the week. I believe that the Senator from California has agreed that on next Monday consideration of the pay bill may be temporarily laid aside in order to consider the hospital bill. So far as I can tell at the present moment, when those matters are out of the way the pay bill will be given an unrestricted right-of-way.

Mr. WHITE. Will the Senator yield for a question or an observation?

Mr. BARKLEY. I yield.

Mr. WHITE. The Senator from Kentucky has indicated that on tomorrow the ship sale bill will be taken up, and he has expressed the belief that little opposition will be voiced to it, and that it will be speedily disposed of. I have had no occasion to see the bill or make a study of it, but I believe I should say that I have received some letters extremely critical of at least one provision of the bill, and whether it will lead to controversy I do not know. I merely say that for the information of the Senator.

Mr. BARKLEY. That is a chance we always take when a bill is taken up. Frequently we are optimistic about controversial provisions of the bill, and when we get into it we find the optimism was not justified. But I would say that by and large the bill will not take a great deal of time. The program, so far as I can foresee it now, is as I have stated.

The understanding is that the pay bill is the unfinished business, but that there will be no further proceedings on it today. Therefore I suggest that we take up the Executive Calendar and dispose of that, with the view of recessing until tomorrow.

**SAUNDERS MEMORIAL HOSPITAL—
CONFERENCE REPORT**

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina submitted the following report:

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the amendments of the House to the bill (S. 693) entitled "An act for the relief of the Saunders Memorial Hospital," having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the House recede from its amendment and the Senate agree to the same.

OLIN D. JOHNSTON,
KENNETH S. WHERRY,
ALLEN J. ELLENDER,

Managers on the Part of the Senate.

DAN R. McGEHEE,
J. M. COMBS,
JOHN JENNINGS, Jr.,

Managers on the Part of the House.

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. I move the adoption of the report.
The report was agreed to.

EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. BARKLEY. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to, and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. DOWNEY in the chair), laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations, which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(For nominations this day received, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

EXECUTIVE REPORT OF A COMMITTEE

The following favorable report of a nomination was submitted:

By Mr. OVERTON, from the Committee on Commerce:

Col. Clark Kittrell, Corps of Engineers, to be a member of the Mississippi River Commission, under the provisions of section 2 of an act of Congress approved June 28, 1879 (21 Stat. 27, 33 U. S. C. 642), vice Col. Malcolm Elliott, relieved.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there be no further reports of committees, the clerk will proceed to state the nominations on the Executive Calendar.

REGISTER OF THE LAND OFFICE

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Frank Olsen to be Register of the Land Office at Blackfoot, Idaho.

Mr. BARKLEY. I understand this nomination may go over for another day.

Mr. WHITE. This is the Idaho nomination?

Mr. BARKLEY. Yes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nomination will be passed over.

COLLECTOR OF INTERNAL REVENUE

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Charles A. Donnelly to be Col-

lector of Internal Revenue for the district of Louisiana.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Floyd S. Daft to be senior scientist.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

POSTMASTERS

The legislative clerk proceeded to read sundry nominations of postmasters.

Mr. BARKLEY. I ask unanimous consent that the postmaster nominations be confirmed en bloc.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the postmaster nominations are confirmed en bloc.

THE ARMY

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Leslie Richard Groves to be Assistant to the Chief of Engineers.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed.

Mr. BARKLEY. I ask unanimous consent that the President be notified immediately of all confirmations of today.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the President will be notified forthwith.

RECESS

Mr. BARKLEY. As in legislative session, I move the Senate take a recess until 12 o'clock noon tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 2 o'clock and 3 minutes p. m.) the Senate took a recess until tomorrow, Thursday, December 6, 1945, at 12 o'clock meridian.

NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate December 5 (legislative day of October 29), 1945:

DIPLOMATIC AND FOREIGN SERVICE

H. F. Arthur Schoenfeld, of the District of Columbia, to be Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Hungary.

PROMOTIONS IN THE REGULAR ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES

(Those officers whose names are preceded by the symbol (X) are subject to examination required by law. All others have been examined and found qualified for promotion.)

To be lieutenant colonels with rank from January 3, 1946

X Maj. Charles Llewellyn Gorman, Quartermaster Corps (temporary lieutenant colonel).

X Maj. Albert Carroll Morgan, Infantry (temporary colonel).

To be lieutenant colonel with rank from January 4, 1946

X Maj. John LaValle Graves, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).

To be lieutenant colonels with rank from January 5, 1946

X Maj. Herbert William Kruger, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).

X Maj. William Earl Watters, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).

X Maj. Leo Henry Dawson, Air Corps (temporary colonel).

X Maj. Milton John Smith, Air Corps (temporary colonel).

X Maj. Carl Budd Wahle, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary colonel).

X Maj. Lester Vocke, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).

X Maj. John Leon Dicks, Infantry (temporary colonel).

X Maj. Herman William Fairbrother, Quartermaster Corps (temporary colonel).

X Maj. Thomas Edward Meyer, Field Artillery (temporary lieutenant colonel).

X Maj. Thomas Jefferson Randolph, Cavalry (temporary lieutenant colonel).

X Maj. LaRoy Sanders Graham, Infantry (temporary colonel).

X Maj. Francis Lavelle Ready, Cavalry.

X Maj. David Hottenstein, Judge Advocate General's Department (temporary colonel).

X Maj. Ray Brooks Floyd, Infantry (temporary lieutenant colonel).

X Maj. Ray Eugene Marshall, Infantry (temporary lieutenant colonel).

X Maj. Karl Clifford Frank, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary lieutenant colonel).

X Maj. Clyde Anderson Burcham, Cavalry (temporary lieutenant colonel).

Maj. Randall James Hogan, Ordnance Department (temporary colonel).

Maj. Robert Nicholas Young, Infantry (temporary brigadier general).

X Maj. James Frederick Phillips, Air Corps (temporary brigadier general).

X Maj. Douglas Valentine Johnson, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).

X Maj. Frederick Williams Watrous, Field Artillery (temporary lieutenant colonel).

X Maj. Charles Elford Smith, Ordnance Department (temporary colonel).

X Maj. Raymond Edward Culbertson, Air Corps.

X Maj. Maynard Harper Carter, Infantry (temporary colonel).

X Maj. LeGrande Albert Diller, Infantry (temporary brigadier general).

X Maj. Robert Parker Hollis, Quartermaster Corps (temporary colonel).

X Maj. Isaac Davis White, Cavalry (temporary major general).

X Maj. Max Hosmer Gooler, Infantry (temporary colonel).

X Maj. Joseph Howard Harper, Infantry (temporary colonel).

X Maj. Newton Farragut McCurdy, Adjutant General's Department (temporary colonel).

X Maj. John Julius Dubblede, Jr., Infantry (temporary colonel).

Maj. Joe Ford Simmons, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary colonel).

X Maj. Clarence Turner Hulett, Infantry (temporary lieutenant colonel).

X Maj. Daniel Powell Poteet, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).

X Maj. Gerson Kirkland Heiss, Ordnance Department (temporary colonel).

X Maj. Ransom George Among, Quartermaster Corps (temporary colonel).

X Maj. Walter Howard DeLange, Field Artillery (temporary colonel).

X Maj. Robert Kelsey Haskell, Ordnance Department (temporary colonel).

X Maj. Ralph Adel Snavely, Air Corps (temporary brigadier general).

X Maj. Claude Armenius Thorp, Cavalry.

X Maj. Aloysius Eugene O'Flaherty, Jr., Infantry (temporary colonel).

To be first lieutenant with rank from January 19, 1946

Second Lt. Dimitri Alexander Kellogg, Corps of Engineers (temporary captain).

Second Lt. Richard Traber Batson, Corps of Engineers (temporary captain).

X Second Lt. Charles Calvert Benedict, Air Corps (temporary captain).

X Second Lt. Edward Lee Shely, Jr., Air Corps (temporary lieutenant colonel).

Second Lt. John Hugh Buckner, Air Corps (temporary major).

Second Lt. John Jones Upchurch 3d, Corps of Engineers (temporary captain).

Second Lt. William Allen Knowlton, Cavalry (temporary captain).

Second Lt. Lawrence Harold Bixby, Jr., Field Artillery (temporary captain).

Second Lt. DeWitt Clinton Armstrong 3d, Infantry (temporary major).

- ×Second Lt. Keith Gordon Lindell, Air Corps (temporary major).
 ×Second Lt. Robert Nelson Smith, Air Corps (temporary first lieutenant).
 Second Lt. George Anthony Rebh, Corps of Engineers (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Howard Deane Elliott, Field Artillery (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Samuel Nairn Karrick, Jr., Corps of Engineers (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Edward James Hardebeck, Air Corps (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Frank Ambler Camm, Corps of Engineers (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Fred Brenning Waters, Jr., Corps of Engineers (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Edmond Lawrence Faust, Jr., Corps of Engineers (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Arthur Leslie Freer, Corps of Engineers (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. James Raymon Dempsey, Air Corps (temporary major).
 Second Lt. Douglas King Blue, Corps of Engineers (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Howard Franklin Wehrle 3d, Infantry (temporary captain).
 ×Second Lt. Paul Roscoe Ellis, Corps of Engineers (temporary major).
 Second Lt. John McClure, Jr., Corps of Engineers (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Louis Theodore Seith, Air Corps (temporary major).
 Second Lt. Robert Ralph Fishel, Air Corps (temporary major).
 Second Lt. James Oliver Frankosky, Air Corps (temporary major).
 Second Lt. Thomas Daniel Harrison, Air Corps (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Edward Elmer Bennett, Corps of Engineers (temporary captain).
 ×Second Lt. Edward Joseph Bielecki, Corps of Engineers (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Walter Hugh Cook, Jr., Signal Corps (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Robert Creel Marshall, Corps of Engineers (temporary major).
 ×Second Lt. William Johnson Talbott, Corps of Engineers (temporary major).
 Second Lt. Darrie Hewitt Richards, Corps of Engineers (temporary major).
 Second Lt. Clarke Duncan Hain, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary first lieutenant).
 Second Lt. Albert Emmanuel Saari, Corps of Engineers (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Milton Ernst Stevens, Corps of Engineers (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Cecil George Young, Jr., Coast Artillery Corps (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Richard Lewis Evans, Corps of Engineers (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. William Love Starnes, Jr., Corps of Engineers (temporary major).
 Second Lt. Vernon Keith Sanders, Corps of Engineers (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Robert Guthrie Hillman, Corps of Engineers (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Charles William Lenfest, Air Corps (temporary major).
 Second Lt. Thomas Quinton Donaldson IV, Cavalry (temporary captain).
 ×Second Lt. Jack Jean Jones, Air Corps (temporary major).
 Second Lt. Mitchel Goldenthal, Corps of Engineers (temporary major).
 ×Second Lt. Lowell Boyd Fisher, Air Corps (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Robert Belleau Burlin, Corps of Engineers (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. John Carpenter Raaen, Jr., Corps of Engineers (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. George Kunkel Sykes, Air Corps (temporary major).
 Second Lt. Edward Michael Costello, Air Corps (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Emmett Robinson Reynolds, Signal Corps (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Charles Glenn Glasgow, Air Corps (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. James Randolph Richardson, Corps of Engineers (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Franklin Prague Shaw, Jr., Infantry (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Herbert Gordon Kolb, Air Corps (temporary captain).
 ×Second Lt. Francis Hamilton Bonham, Air Corps (temporary lieutenant colonel).
 Second Lt. Ralph Mills Hofmann, Infantry (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Charles Stuart MacVeigh, Corps of Engineers (temporary captain).
 ×Second Lt. Frederick Mark Smith, Corps of Engineers (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Arthur Beardsley Grace, Jr., Corps of Engineers (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Charles Clifford Pinkerton, Jr., Air Corps (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Conrad Epping Koerper, Jr., Field Artillery (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Frederick Sherwood Porter, Jr., Air Corps (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Edward Rice Ardery, Corps of Engineers (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Milton Albert Behn, Air Corps (temporary first lieutenant).
 Second Lt. Robert Morse Wood, Corps of Engineers (temporary first lieutenant).
 Second Lt. John Franklin White, Corps of Engineers (temporary first lieutenant).
 Second Lt. Roger Alexander Bertram, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Ralph Lincoln Cadwallader, Signal Corps (temporary first lieutenant).
 Second Lt. Thomas Henry Beeson, Air Corps (temporary lieutenant colonel).
 Second Lt. Robert Emil Fiss, Field Artillery (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Leslie Buckingham Harding, Corps of Engineers (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. William Robert Myers, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary first lieutenant).
 Second Lt. Rexford Herbert Dettre, Jr., Air Corps (temporary major).
 Second Lt. James Bernhardt Cobb, Air Corps (temporary major).
 Second Lt. Joseph Louie Hamilton, Air Corps (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Walter William Hogrefe, Corps of Engineers (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Henry Frederick Grimm, Jr., Coast Artillery Corps (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Charles Asbury Holt 3d, Air Corps (temporary first lieutenant).
 Second Lt. Robert Seton Maloney, Jr., Air Corps (temporary major).
 Second Lt. John Leroy Weber, Jr., Air Corps (temporary major).
 Second Lt. Michel Andre George Robinson, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Francis Xavier Kane, Air Corps (temporary first lieutenant).
 Second Lt. Stephen Otto Benner, Air Corps (temporary major).
 Second Lt. Quentin James Goss, Air Corps (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. John George Moses, Jr., Signal Corps (temporary first lieutenant).
 ×Second Lt. Cleo Merton Bishop, Air Corps (temporary major).
 Second Lt. William Ernest Hensel, Infantry (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Earl LeRoy Hehn, Jr., Air Corps (temporary captain).
 ×Second Lt. Thomas Everett Griess, Corps of Engineers (temporary first lieutenant).
 Second Lt. Dan Morey Parker, Air Corps (temporary captain).
 ×Second Lt. Wendell Lowell Bevan, Jr., Air Corps (temporary major).
 Second Lt. James Alfred McKinney, Air Corps (temporary major).
 Second Lt. John Frank Johnson, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. John Foster Stephens, Field Artillery (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Robert Francis McDermott, Air Corps (temporary major).
 ×Second Lt. Donald Henry Vicek, Signal Corps (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Vernon Edward Trinter, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary first lieutenant).
 ×Second Lt. Hiram Glenn Turner, Jr., Air Corps (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. John Laurence Shortall, Jr., Coast Artillery Corps (temporary first lieutenant).
 ×Second Lt. Harold James Bestervelt, Air Corps (temporary captain).
 ×Second Lt. Charles Edward Hardy, Air Corps (temporary major).
 Second Lt. Frank Edward Boyd, Air Corps (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Joseph Harrison Dover, Air Corps (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. John Jacob Shultz, Jr., Coast Artillery Corps (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. John Arthur Kerig, Jr., Air Corps (temporary major).
 Second Lt. John Robert Nickel, Signal Corps (temporary major).
 Second Lt. James McClain Huddleston, Infantry (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Edmund Barber Edwards, Air Corps (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. John Miller Wilson, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Robert Muldrow, Air Corps (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Ralph Joseph Truex, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Stewart Canfield Meyer, Field Artillery (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Frederick Clayton Spann, Field Artillery (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Thomas Isaac Cary, Air Corps (temporary captain).
 ×Second Lt. Floyd Oralee Tobey, Jr., Air Corps (temporary first lieutenant).
 Second Lt. Frederick Martin King, Air Corps (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Edmund James Carberry, Infantry (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. William Reed Hahn, Cavalry (temporary first lieutenant).
 Second Lt. Ben Lee Baber, Signal Corps (temporary first lieutenant).
 Second Lt. Henry Anson Barber 3d, Infantry (temporary captain).
 ×Second Lt. George Spoor Weart, Air Corps (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Paul Edward Andrepont, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Lawrence Philip Bischoff, Jr., Coast Artillery Corps (temporary first lieutenant).
 Second Lt. John Gray Wheelock 3d, Cavalry (temporary major).
 Second Lt. Gregg Henry, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Lowell Lyndon Wilkes, Jr., Signal Corps (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Marion Hopkins May, Field Artillery (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. William Bernard Smith, Jr., Air Corps (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. McGlachlin Hatch, Air Corps (temporary major).
 Second Lt. Vasco John Fenili, Cavalry (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Rex David Minckler, Signal Corps (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Francis Casimir Kajencki, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary first lieutenant).
 Second Lt. Adrian St. John, Jr., Cavalry (temporary captain).
 ×Second Lt. John Joseph Courtney, Jr., Air Corps (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Leo Mose Blanchett, Jr., Field Artillery (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Merle Landry Carey, Field Artillery (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Alfred Lukacs Toth, Infantry (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Kirby Alexander Gean, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Russel McKee Herrington, Jr., Air Corps (temporary captain).
 ×Second Lt. Robert Guy Kurtz, Air Corps (temporary major).
 Second Lt. Walter Richard Tallafarro, Air Corps (temporary major).
 Second Lt. George William Porter, Air Corps (temporary major).

- Second Lt. Clifford James Moore, Jr., Air Corps (temporary major).
- Second Lt. Edwin James Willcox, Field Artillery (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. Richard Joseph Hynes, Air Corps (temporary major).
- Second Lt. John Jacob Luther, Jr., Infantry (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. William Frederick Pitts, Air Corps (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. Arthur Anson Marston, Air Corps (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. Richard Howell Broach, Air Corps (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. Joseph William Benson, Signal Corps (temporary major).
- Second Lt. John Erwin Kuffner, Signal Corps (temporary first lieutenant).
- Second Lt. Edward Potter Foote, Air Corps (temporary major).
- Second Lt. Clifford Lewis Butler, Jr., Coast Artillery Corps (temporary major).
- Second Lt. Roderic Thomas Wriston, Air Corps (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. Donald Eugene Wilbourn, Field Artillery (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. John Hixon Shaffer, Air Corps (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. Dana Lee Stewart, Field Artillery (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. James Robert Michael, Infantry (temporary major).
- Second Lt. James Edward Kelleher, Field Artillery (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. Roy Alexander Sanders, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary first lieutenant).
- Second Lt. Moses Joseph Gatewood, Jr., Air Corps (temporary major).
- Second Lt. Hugh Mease, Jr., Infantry (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. John Jay Gorman, Air Corps (temporary major).
- Second Lt. John Alden Hine, Jr., Infantry (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. Lester George Taylor, Jr., Air Corps (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. Lee Boyer James, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. William Hayes Fritz, Signal Corps (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. John Gregory Hoyt, Signal Corps (temporary first lieutenant).
- Second Lt. Louis Locke Wilson, Jr., Air Corps (temporary major).
- Second Lt. Douglas Blakeshaw Netherwood, Signal Corps (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. James Willis Ledbetter, Air Corps (temporary first lieutenant).
- Second Lt. Harold Kilburn Roach, Infantry (temporary first lieutenant).
- Second Lt. Henry John Ebrey, Jr., Cavalry (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. Patrick Gerald Wardell, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary first lieutenant).
- Second Lt. James Justus Cobb, Field Artillery (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. Algin James Hughes, Field Artillery (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. Robert Ernest Lacy, Air Corps (temporary lieutenant colonel).
- Second Lt. Younger Arnold Pitts, Jr., Air Corps (temporary major).
- Second Lt. Warren Joseph Lane, Air Corps (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. Harold Staats Walker, Jr., Infantry (temporary first lieutenant).
- Second Lt. William Edmund Larned, Jr., Cavalry (temporary first lieutenant).
- Second Lt. Roy Lindsay Bowlin, Jr., Air Corps (temporary major).
- Second Lt. Thomas Walsh Flatley, Field Artillery (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. Arvid Paul Cronquist, Jr., Infantry (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. Charles Francis Alfano, Signal Corps (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. Robert Sprague Beightler, Jr., Infantry (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. James Emerson Bush, Jr., Air Corps (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. Arthur Joseph Sebesta, Signal Corps (temporary first lieutenant).
- Second Lt. Joseph Bartholomew Conmy, Jr., Infantry (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. Joseph Peeler Stabler, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. Jessup David Lowe, Air Corps (temporary major).
- Second Lt. Raymond Cecil Brittingham, Jr., Air Corps (temporary major).
- Second Lt. Jesse Benjamin Hollis, Jr., Field Artillery (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. Oliver Williams DeGruchy, Jr., Air Corps (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. Albert Earl Stoll, Jr., Air Corps (temporary major).
- Second Lt. John Shirley Wood, Jr., Field Artillery (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. Clarence Maude Davenport, Jr., Coast Artillery Corps (temporary major).
- Second Lt. Roger Louis Fisher, Air Corps (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. Victor Arnold Franklin, Infantry (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. William Lamar Hardy, Air Corps (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. Russell Jackson Smith, Air Corps (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. Robert LeVerne Davis, Field Artillery (temporary first lieutenant).
- Second Lt. Virginio Lorenzo Antoniolli, Infantry (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. Donald Hepburn Bruner, Air Corps (temporary first lieutenant).
- Second Lt. John Riley Mitchell, Infantry (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. Arthur Pearson Wade, Field Artillery (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. James Leslie Doyle, Air Corps (temporary major).
- Second Lt. John Crocker Catlin, Air Corps (temporary major).
- Second Lt. Walter Edwin Nygard, Signal Corps (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. Thomas Bates Windsor, Infantry (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. Robert Eugene Baden, Infantry (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. George William Criss, Jr., Air Corps (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. Donald Warren Thompson, Air Corps (temporary major).
- Second Lt. Richard Turner Schlosberg, Jr., Air Corps (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. Robert James Rader, Field Artillery (temporary first lieutenant).
- Second Lt. John Gilmore McNamara, Field Artillery (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. Arthur Vincent Jackson, Air Corps (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. George Bradley Lundberg, Infantry (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. Howard Anthony Linn, Air Corps (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. Robert Edward Harrington, Air Corps (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. Edward Alexander McGough 3d, Air Corps (temporary major).
- Second Lt. Gerard Vincent Cosgrove, Field Artillery (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. John Willard Baer, Air Corps (temporary major).
- Second Lt. Sidney Zecher, Cavalry (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. John Winthrop Armstrong, Infantry (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. Robert Logan Edwards, Air Corps (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. John Roy Ross, Jr., Infantry (temporary first lieutenant).
- Second Lt. James Fisher Frakes, Air Corps (temporary major).
- Second Lt. Robert Morehead Cook, Infantry (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. William Diebold Brady, Air Corps (temporary major).
- Second Lt. Norman David Greenberg, Field Artillery (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. Norman Daniel Cota, Jr., Air Corps (temporary major).
- Second Lt. Frank Terry Ellis, Air Corps (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. George Kamell Maertens, Infantry (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. Pete Daniel Pavick, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary first lieutenant).
- Second Lt. John Frederick Daye, Jr., Air Corps (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. George Luck Danforth, Jr., Air Corps (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. Henry Joseph Mazur, Air Corps (temporary major).
- Second Lt. Harry Hall Pritchett, Jr., Infantry (temporary first lieutenant).
- Second Lt. James Alfred Rippin, Air Corps (temporary lieutenant colonel).
- Second Lt. John Edgar Van Duyn, Air Corps (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. Edward Michael Flanagan, Jr., Field Artillery (temporary major).
- Second Lt. Joseph Alexander Stuart, Jr., Air Corps (temporary major).
- Second Lt. John Edward Roberts, Air Corps (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. John Jacob Norris, Field Artillery (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. Altus Emory Prince, Infantry (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. John Dennis Healy, Jr., Coast Artillery Corps (temporary first lieutenant).
- Second Lt. Thomas Edward Ramsey, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary first lieutenant).
- Second Lt. Daugherty Mason Smith, Signal Corps (temporary first lieutenant).
- Second Lt. Thomas Robert Watson, Infantry (temporary first lieutenant).
- Second Lt. William Edwin Waters, Infantry (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. John Thomas Russell, Jr., Field Artillery (temporary first lieutenant).
- Second Lt. Robert John Walling, Air Corps (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. Cecil Wray Page, Jr., Signal Corps (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. Albert Lossen Lane, Jr., Air Corps (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. Charles Alvin Wirt, Infantry (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. William Eugene Lewis, Signal Corps (temporary first lieutenant).
- Second Lt. Burton Francis Hood, Jr., Infantry (temporary first lieutenant).
- Second Lt. Edward Henry Murray, Infantry (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. John Everard Hatch, Jr., Air Corps (temporary major).
- Second Lt. James Marshall Little, Air Corps (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. Myron Haines Dakin, Signal Corps (temporary first lieutenant).
- Second Lt. Herbert Suddath Lewis, Field Artillery (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. Henry Hodgen Kirby, Jr., Air Corps (temporary major).
- Second Lt. Kearie Lee Berry, Jr., Air Corps (temporary major).
- Second Lt. Joseph Anthony Riccio, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary first lieutenant).
- Second Lt. Barton Kyle Yount, Jr., Air Corps (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. George Harvey Watson, Field Artillery (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. William Robert Stewart, Jr., Air Corps (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. Herbert Eugene Kemp, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. Theodore Thomas Lutrey, Air Corps (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. James Roland Anderson, Field Artillery (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. Charles Lester Heitzel, Field Artillery (temporary first lieutenant).
- Second Lt. Robert Leonard Lawrence, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary first lieutenant).
- Second Lt. Darwin Jack Kitch, Infantry (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. Ernest Darius Scott, Jr., Air Corps (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. Jacob Whitman Klerk, Air Corps (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. Lester Meltzer, Air Corps (temporary captain).
- Second Lt. William Johnston Hovde, Air Corps (temporary major).
- Second Lt. James Hamlin Schofield, Jr., Signal Corps (temporary major).

Second Lt. William Douaire Neale, Field Artillery (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. John Leopold Dworak, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary first lieutenant).
 Second Lt. Charles Herbert Burr, Jr., Signal Corps (temporary first lieutenant).
 Second Lt. John Daniel McGowan, Field Artillery (temporary first lieutenant).
 Second Lt. James Daniel Moore, Infantry (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Donald Franklin Powell, Infantry (temporary first lieutenant).
 Second Lt. Robert Victor Whitlow, Air Corps (temporary major).
 Second Lt. Barton James Mallory, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Donald Ernest Griffin, Air Corps (temporary major).
 Second Lt. James Franklin Hackler, Jr., Air Corps (temporary major).
 Second Lt. John William Barnes, Infantry (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Thomas Wilson Brown, Infantry (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Hugh Fagan Jordan, Air Corps (temporary first lieutenant).
 Second Lt. Kenneth Ecklund Buell, Infantry (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. William Hiram Pietsch, Jr., Infantry (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Robert Lee Bullard 3d, Infantry (temporary first lieutenant).
 Second Lt. William Martin Thompson, Air Corps (temporary first lieutenant).
 Second Lt. William Joseph Cook, Air Corps (temporary major).
 Second Lt. Britt Stanaland May, Air Corps (temporary major).
 Second Lt. Lyle Marvin Lappin, Air Corps (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. George Romanta Kinney, Air Corps (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. William Donald Kyle, Jr., Air Corps (temporary lieutenant colonel).
 Second Lt. Elvy Benton Roberts, Infantry (temporary major).
 Second Lt. Edward Allen Doran, Signal Corps (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Robert Hugh Fautt, Jr., Air Corp (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Chester John Butcher, Air Corps (temporary captain).
 Second Lieutenant George Thomas Prior, Air Corps (temporary major).
 Second Lt. John Milton Cutler, Air Corps (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. John Rossignol Lovett, Air Corps (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Boone Seegers, Air Corps (temporary major).
 Second Lt. Arthur Pershing Hurr, Air Corps (temporary lieutenant colonel).
 Second Lt. Sidney Conrad Peterman, Infantry (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Wesley James Curtis, Infantry (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Ernest Charles Raulin, Jr., Signal Corps (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. David Harvey Barger, Air Corps (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Henry Benton Saylor, Jr., Air Corps (temporary major).
 Second Lt. Carlos Maurice Talbott, Air Corps (temporary major).
 Second Lt. Robert McNeely Peden, Infantry (temporary first lieutenant).
 Second Lt. Everett Edward Lowry, Jr., Infantry (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Thomas Henderson Farnsworth, Infantry (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. John Joseph Nazzaro, Infantry (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. James Creelman Huntley, Signal Corps (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Morton Campbell Carmack, Air Corps (temporary major).
 Second Lt. Joseph Edward Nett, Signal Corps (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. William Frederick Dolby, Air Corps (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Elbert Pritchett Epperson, Infantry (temporary captain).

Second Lt. Everard Kidder Meade, Jr., Infantry (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Lucian Dalton Bogan, Jr., Infantry (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Marvin Jay Berenzweig, Infantry (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Jack Fontaine Dulaney, Infantry (temporary first lieutenant).
 Second Lt. Raymond Francis Ruyffelaere, Infantry (temporary first lieutenant).
 Second Lt. Howard Everett Moore, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary first lieutenant).
 Second Lt. William Harold Dannacher, Infantry (temporary first lieutenant).
 Second Lt. Victor Anthony Cherbak, Jr., Air Corps (temporary major).
 Second Lt. James S. Changaris, Infantry (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Jonathan Waverly Anderson, Jr., Infantry (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. William Haywood Hume, Air Corps (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. Thomas Arthur Mesereau, Infantry (temporary major).
 Second Lt. Melvin Sidney Thaler, Air Corps (temporary first lieutenant).
 Second Lt. John Parsons Wheeler, Jr., Infantry (temporary first lieutenant).
 Second Lt. Roy Robertson Wilson, Infantry (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. John Harvey Linton, Air Corps (temporary first lieutenant).
 Second Lt. Eugene August Wink, Jr., Air Corps (temporary captain).
 Second Lt. William Henry Tucker 3d, Air Corps (temporary first lieutenant).
 Second Lt. Stanley Livingston James, Jr., Signal Corps (temporary first lieutenant).
 Second Lt. Belmonte Pasquale Cucolo, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary first lieutenant).
 Second Lt. James Anthony Aleveras, Coast Artillery Corps (temporary first lieutenant).
To be first lieutenant with rank from January 21, 1946
 Second Lt. Robert Tompkins Blake, Field Artillery (temporary captain).

MEDICAL CORPS

To be lieutenant colonel

Maj. Fletcher Emory Ammons, Medical Corps (temporary colonel), with rank from January 17, 1946, subject to examination required by law.

To be major

Capt. Eugene Rhea Chapman, Medical Corps (temporary colonel), with rank from January 8, 1946, subject to examination required by law.

DENTAL CORPS

To be colonel

Lt. Col. Forest Vernon Bockey, Dental Corps (temporary colonel), with rank from January 6, 1946.

POSTMASTERS

The following-named persons to be postmasters:

ALABAMA

Homer E. Williams, Calera, Ala., in place of R. E. Bowdon, Jr., resigned.
 Mabel G. Matlock, Irvington, Ala. Office became Presidential July 1, 1945.
 Leigh V. Burch, Seale, Ala. Office became Presidential July 1, 1944.

ARKANSAS

Ibrie D. Trice, Roe, Ark., in place of W. F. Bock, retired.

CALIFORNIA

Helen L. Hellwig, Bodega Bay, Calif. Office became Presidential July 1, 1945.
 Jeanne E. Merian, Valley Ford, Calif. Office became Presidential July 1, 1945.

COLORADO

Fern Conklin, Fraser, Colo., in place of E. E. Carroll, retired.
 William Kloster, Ramah, Colo. Office became Presidential July 1, 1945.

Martha C. Dana, Roggen, Colo. Office became Presidential July 1, 1944.
 Charlotte Johnson, Somerset, Colo. Office became Presidential July 1, 1945.

GEORGIA

Cyrus E. Tolbert, Omega, Ga., in place of C. H. Tolbert, transferred.

HAWAII

Jack A. Hall, Eleele, Hawaii, in place of J. I. Silva, retired.

ILLINOIS

Cornelia Runyan, Colona, Ill. Office became Presidential July 1, 1945.
 Myrtis P. McChuskey, Maunie, Ill., in place of J. E. Farny, deceased.

KANSAS

Doris M. Ralston, Lincoln, Kans., in place of G. W. Ryan, deceased.

MAINE

Arthur A. Sprague, Liberty, Maine. Office became Presidential July 1, 1945.
 Ois C. Brackett, Rangeley, Maine, in place of H. H. Herrick, deceased.

MARYLAND

Maude R. Phelps, Clarksville, Md. Office became Presidential July 1, 1945.
 Mary E. Cavey, Ilchester, Md. Office became Presidential July 1, 1945.
 Ethel Goddard, St. Marys City, Md. Office became Presidential July 1, 1945.

MINNESOTA

Howard M. Drinkwater, Zumbro Falls, Minn., in place of A. H. Sugg, retired.

MISSISSIPPI

Lula M. Flippen, McCarley, Miss. Office became Presidential July 1, 1945.

MISSOURI

Bernice W. Stites, Barnhart, Mo., in place of James Macnish, retired.
 Andrew P. Drury, Bloomsdale, Mo. Office became Presidential July 1, 1945.
 Laura M. Leach, Martin City, Mo. Office became Presidential July 1, 1945.
 M. Vernon Davis, Newtown, Mo., in place of A. E. Duley, transferred.

MONTANA

Martin P. Browne, Lambert, Mont. Office became Presidential July 1, 1945.
 Bertha Paulson, Sandcoulee, Mont. Office became Presidential July 1, 1945.

NEBRASKA

Maud M. Young, Belvidere, Nebr. Office became Presidential July 1, 1944.
 Fred A. Ott, Hooper, Nebr., in place of G. H. Looschen, resigned.
 Helen Queen, Macy, Nebr. Office became Presidential July 1, 1945.

NEW JERSEY

William L. Mongan, Berlin, N. J., in place of W. K. Bittle, transferred.

NEW YORK

Edith M. McEwen, Colton, N. Y. Office became Presidential July 1, 1944.
 Marie Gardner, Fly Creek, N. Y. Office became Presidential July 1, 1945.
 Leonard A. Cafferty, Harpursville, N. Y., in place of M. E. St. John, resigned.
 George D. Davison, Highview, N. Y. Office became Presidential July 1, 1945.
 Dorothy B. Driscoll, Kauneonga Lake, N. Y., in place of T. E. Driscoll, resigned.
 Harry Burns, Williamstown, N. Y., in place of J. F. Healy, resigned.

OKLAHOMA

Hazel E. Wilson, Fittstown, Okla., in place of R. H. Floyd, resigned.

OREGON

Margery A. Kron, Garden Home, Oreg. Office became Presidential July 1, 1945.

PENNSYLVANIA

Frank A. Chesaro, Brackenridge, Pa., in place of L. F. Matthews, removed.

Homer C. Wheatman, Unionville, Pa. Office became Presidential July 1, 1945.

TENNESSEE

Louise White, Clairfield, Tenn. Office became Presidential July 1, 1944.

Hayden Glover, Elmwood, Tenn. Office became Presidential July 1, 1945.

WISCONSIN

Jennie Ruid, Loretta, Wis. Office became Presidential July 1, 1945.

Vivian A. Edberg, Radisson, Wis. Office became Presidential July 1, 1945.

WYOMING

E. Kathleen Galloway, Winton, Wyo., in place of K. L. Marceau, resigned.

CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate December 5 (legislative day of October 29), 1945:

COLLECTOR OF INTERNAL REVENUE

Charles A. Donnelly to be collector of internal revenue for the district of Louisiana.

UNITED STATES PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE

APPOINTMENT IN THE REGULAR CORPS

Floyd S. Daft to be senior scientist in the United States Public Health Service, effective date of oath of office.

IN THE ARMY

APPOINTMENT IN THE REGULAR ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES

Leslie Richard Groves to be assistant to the Chief of Engineers with the rank of brigadier general, for a period of 4 years from date of acceptance.

POSTMASTERS

IOWA

Robert N. Culbertson, Blairsburg.
Hans A. Tvedte, Dolliver.

MISSOURI

Thomas W. Sincox, Washington.

NEW JERSEY

Katherine Stilwell, Blawenburg.

NORTH CAROLINA

Nelda L. Spruill, Pinetown.
Woodie G. Ammons, Robbinsville.

PENNSYLVANIA

Edwin S. Blakeslee, East Smithfield.
Evalyn M. Roberts, Morganza.

VIRGINIA

Minnie P. Chambers, Arvonla.
H. Warren Conant, Chincoteague Island.
J. Walter Bailey, Woodstock.

WEST VIRGINIA

Nannie V. Duncan, Crumpler.
Ernestine Harris, Fenwick.
Howard H. Altizer, Newhall.
William T. Moomau, Petersburg.
Alma D. Gwinn, Shrewsbury.
Esther White, Stollings.
Carlos V. H. Cook, Van.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 5, 1945

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

O Thou who art supremely glorious, we most fervently pray that the spirit of our Master may more thoroughly obtain in the ranks of men. When reviled, He reviled not again, but bore with patience and fortitude the burden of His mission. O let us not fear the clouded face of hu-

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man nature; through the things of time, space and sense, out of pain and discord, let come that freedom of peace and harmony toward which the world of men moves and strives.

Keep our Republic free, O God, from those sins which have wrecked so many lands, leaving only the monuments of ruin and dismay. Persuade us that no section of our social order can live built on the crumbling rocks of selfish desire and disunity. Preserve us, we beseech Thee, from the graveyard of divergent groups and grant that we may never be guilty of denying to any man those rich privileges guaranteed by our founding fathers. In our Redeemer's name. Amen.

The Journal of the proceedings of yesterday was read and approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Frazier, its legislative clerk, announced that the Senate had passed without amendment a bill of the House of the following title:

H. R. 2518. An act to confer jurisdiction upon the Court of Claims to hear, determine, and render judgment upon a certain claim of Eastern Contracting Co., a corporation, against the United States.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed a bill of the following title, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 1580. An act to provide for the appointment of representatives of the United States in the organs and agencies of the United Nations, and to make other provision with respect to the participation of the United States in such organization.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. LANE asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include two letters.

Mr. JARMAN asked and was given permission to include in the remarks he expected to make later today in the Committee of the Whole an editorial from the Washington Post.

Mr. ANDERSON of California asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include a letter from Admiral Land and a copy of a wire sent by Admiral Land to Harry Bridges.

GENERAL HURLEY

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Minnesota?

There was no objection.

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, the newspapers have a phrase "speaking off the cuff." Some of our diplomats, and I refer particularly to Tyler Kent and Gen. Pat Hurley, who are supposed to be diplomats and represent the opinion of the United States, have taken it upon themselves to make their own policies and refuse to cooperate. I believe General Hurley, before he uttered a word, should have consulted with the President of the United States and acted as a true diplomat.

VETERANS' HOSPITALS

Mr. MURDOCK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Arizona?

There was no objection.

Mr. MURDOCK. Mr. Speaker, I hold in my hand certain telegrams which I have recently received. These bear on a matter we had up last week when the deficiency bill was before the House. Let me read one from Phoenix, Ariz.:

Local conditions regarding need of veterans' hospital more acute every week. Veterans from all over America arriving daily and no hospital facilities available. In the name of justice, please speed building of hospital here in valley of Maricopa County, Ariz.

Respectfully,

G. A. Todd,

Member of Veterans' Hospital Committee, Representing United Spanish War Veterans.

This wire is one of several, all carrying the same thought and plea, I have received confirming what I said in debate on the bill last week—that the building of veterans' hospitals is urgently needed. Time will not permit reading one from Commander Grant, Veterans of Foreign Wars, and others.

RETURN OF SERVICEMEN OVERSEAS

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Speaker, on the problem of the transportation of soldiers and sailors back home, I have some definite information from a man who up until a couple of days ago was working on a Victory ship, the *Petersburg Victory*, if you want the name. That ship has been transferred by the Maritime Commission from the service of bringing soldiers home to an intercoastal shipping company for commercial service. I am also informed that there are 14 other ships, at least, concerning which positive knowledge is had that this same thing has happened. I think this is all wrong. I do not believe commercial shipping, coastwise or otherwise, should be allowed in any respect to interfere with transporting men home who are eligible to come back. These ships should be kept in the service of troop transport until that job is done.

COMMITTEE ON EXPENDITURES IN THE EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS

Mr. MANASCO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments may have until midnight tonight to submit a report on the bill S. 380.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Alabama?

There was no objection.

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the special order I

have for today be postponed until next week.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

Mr. OUTLAND. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on Friday of this week, at the conclusion of the legislative program of the day and following any special orders heretofore entered, I be permitted to address the House for 30 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mrs. LUCE asked and was given permission to extend her remarks in the RECORD and include therein several editorials about Indonesia.

REPORT ON TROOP RETURNS

Mr. KUNKEL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. KUNKEL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to quote briefly from a recent War Department release dated November 20 concerning the all-important subject of men eligible for release being returned from overseas:

Indications are now that shipping will be over the hump, no longer the critical factor, about January 1 in the Atlantic, and during April 1946 in the Pacific.

Further along the report says:

The volume of returning soldiers is mounting steadily. In November, 697,000 troops are expected to land, 502,000 at eastern ports and 195,000 at western ports. December will be the peak month with 423,000 arriving on the east coast and 306,000 on the west coast.

If the War and Navy Departments and the War Shipping Administration will only secure more ships to bring the men home I am sure an earlier date than April can be attained for the Pacific. These agencies should also see to it that no more boats are diverted to improper or commercial purposes until these servicemen are all returned home. I feel strongly that the War and Navy Departments and the War Shipping Administration should use every available ship for that one purpose until the final result is accomplished. Speed is of the essence. Thousands of these men are already months overdue. Each day lost hurts not only them but also their families and friends.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Pennsylvania has expired.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. MERROW asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD and to include therein an editorial from the New York Times.

HAROLD J. LASKI AND FRED A. KIRCHWAY

Mr. THOMAS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to ad-

dress the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New Jersey?

There was no objection.

Mr. THOMAS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I would like to know why our Department of State continues to permit "Red" troublemakers, like Harold J. Laski, to enter the United States. Laski's rabble-rousing speech in New York City, in which he attacked our American way of life, was an insult to every person in the United States. As far as I am concerned, these "Red" "bleeding hearts" from England ought to mind their own business, and believe me, if their demand for an American loan is any criterion, they have plenty of business to handle.

It is particularly interesting to note that the Astor Hotel meeting, which Laski addressed, and at which Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and Sidney Hillman were present, was sponsored by the well-known Communist, Freda Kirchway. Her Communist affiliations are about as numerous as those of Mother Bloor. Among them are the following:

Sponsor: North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy.

Sponsor: Mother Bloor banquet. Member, national committee: All-America Anti-Imperialist League.

Sponsor: American Committee for Anti-Nazi Literature.

Signer of petition: American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom.

Member of committee: American Friends of Spanish Democracy.

Member, advisory board: American Student Union.

Signer of appeal: Committee for Boycott Against Japanese Aggression.

Representative individual: Coordinating Committee To Lift the Embargo.

Sponsor and member of advisory board: Descendants of the American Revolution.

Member, advisory board: Film Audiences for Democracy.

Member, advisory board: Films for Democracy.

Sponsor: Greater New York Emergency Conference on Inalienable Rights.

Sponsor: League of Women Shoppers.

Member of committee: Medical bureau, American Friends of Spanish Democracy.

Signer of open letter: National Emergency Conference for Democratic Rights.

Signer of message: National Federation for Constitutional Liberties.

Member: National People's Committee Against Hearst.

Contributing editor: New Masses.

Owner, member of executive board, and contributor: New Masses.

Sponsor: Spanish Refugee Relief Campaign.

Signer of manifesto: Union of Concerted Peace Efforts.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. JUDD asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD and to include therein a resolution on the atomic bomb

by some scientists from the University of Minnesota.

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. RIZLEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that on Tuesday next, after the disposition of business on the Speaker's desk and the conclusion of special orders heretofore entered, I be permitted to address the House for 20 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

There was no objection.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. AUCHINCLOSS asked and was given permission to extend his own remarks in the RECORD and include an editorial.

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin asked and was given permission to extend his own remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD and to include an excerpt from a letter.

Mr. ANGELL asked and was given permission to extend his own remarks in the RECORD in two instances and include two excerpts.

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that my colleague the gentleman from Vermont [Mr. PLUMLEY] may address the House tomorrow after the disposition of business on the Speaker's desk and the conclusion of special orders heretofore entered, for 15 minutes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

JAMES F. SCANLON

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, James Scanlon has served the House of Representatives and the Committee on Appropriations in an important capacity as a clerk for more than 30 years. He has been unflinching in his courtesy to the membership of the House and to those people in the Government who have had business with him. He is one of the finest, ablest, and hardest-working men that I have come in contact with during my service in the House of Representatives. As he is retiring at this time, I want to pay this slight tribute to him and to his good work.

SURPLUS PROPERTY DISPOSAL

Mr. RICH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. RICH. Mr. Speaker, some time ago we did away with the three-man board and changed the law so that Mr. Symington is now in charge of the disposal of surplus property. He is trying

to dispose of that property but on account of other legislation that you passed his hands are tied, and he is having the time of his life disposing of surplus property. He cannot do the job that should be done. He is going to be criticized. You will be criticized. There will be many accusations made against him, and you are not going to dispose of surplus property and help this country and help the people who want to be helped unless the law is changed in order to give him more authority and more power to aid in disposing of the property now, not next month or next year. Let us do a good business job and finish the job by giving him the power to dispose of that surplus property. In that way you will be better off, the country will be better off, the ex-servicemen will be better off, and everybody will be better off. So, why do you not do it. Change the law for disposing of the surplus property before you adjourn for Christmas.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Pennsylvania has expired.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois asked and was given permission to extend her remarks in the RECORD and include a report of the Council for American-Italian Affairs.

Mr. CARNAHAN asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include an editorial from the St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

Mr. FOLGER asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include an address made by the gentlewoman from California [Mrs. DOUGLAS] over the radio last night.

ADDRESS BY MRS. HELEN GAHAGAN DOUGLAS

Mr. FOLGER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks and include therein certain material.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. FOLGER. Mr. Speaker, I am taking this opportunity to commend to every Member of the House, those present and those not present, that they read the broadcast made by the gentlewoman from California [Mrs. DOUGLAS] last night. I give it to you as my opinion that her address is extremely timely and one of the most profound, and one of the grandest, utterances made anywhere in this country in the last 10 years or more.

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S MESSAGE ON THE LABOR QUESTION

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Mississippi?

There was no objection.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, patriotic Americans from one end of this country to the other are applauding President

Truman for his message to Congress on the labor question. Many Members complain that he did not go far enough, but we know he did go in the right direction.

Honest laborers throughout the country applaud him, because they realize that their future welfare is being jeopardized by certain alleged labor leaders who are merely interested in dictatorial power for themselves.

There has never been such a drive of communism against the American Government as is taking place today. An editorial in the Washington Post this morning winds up with these words: "All hail the revolution," after discussing the Communist anarchy parade around the State Department by these enemies of this Government. Two nights ago a little puny Communist from England named Laski, who is over here trying to stir up a revolution in this country, made a speech to a Communist meeting in Madison Square Garden advocating the overthrow of this Government or the abolition of its sovereignty, which means the same thing. I say it is about time the American people woke up and demanded that everybody on the Federal pay roll either get on the beam for America or get off that pay roll; and that every alien enemy get out of the country, and stay out.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Mississippi has expired.

UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I call up House Resolution 444, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

Resolved, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H. R. 4649) to enable the United States to further participate in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. That after general debate, which shall be confined to the bill and continue not to exceed 1 day, to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the bill shall be read for amendment under the 5-minute rule. It shall be in order to consider, any rule of the House to the contrary notwithstanding, an amendment prohibiting the use of funds involved in the bill (H. R. 4649) in countries that refuse free access to examination of United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration operations by representatives of the United States press and radio. At the conclusion of the reading of the bill for amendment, the committee shall rise and report the same to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted, and the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit.

CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently no quorum is present.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The Clerk called the roll, and the following Members failed to answer to their names:

[Roll No. 195]		
Adams	Geelan	Norton
Barry	Gillie	Peterson, Fla.
Bradley, Mich.	Hagen	Powell
Erehm	Hall,	Rivers
Buckley	Edwin Arthur	Robison, Ky.
Campbell	Hancock	Roe, N. Y.
Cannon, Mo.	Hart	Savage
Carlson	Hébert	Sheridan
Celler	Henry	Simpson, Pa.
Clements	Hoeven	Slaughter
Coffee	Hollifield	Starkey
Courtney	Hook	Stevenson
Crosser	Hope	Summers, Tex.
Curley	Horan	Talbot
Daughton, Va.	Izac	Voorhis, Calif.
Dawson	Jackson	Vorys, Ohio
De Lacy	Jensen	Weiss
Dickstein	Keefe	White
Dingell	King	Winter
Doughton, N. C.	Lea	Wolcott
Fernandez	Lewis	Wolverton, N. J.
Fuller	Lyle	Wood
Gathings	McGlinchey	Woodrum, Va.
Gearhart	Mansfield, Tex.	

The SPEAKER. On this roll call 354 Members have answered to their names, a quorum.

By unanimous consent, further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois is recognized.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, the resolution before us makes in order H. R. 4649, a bill to enable the United States to further participate in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, commonly known as UNRRA. This is an open rule and provides for sufficient time—1 day's general debate and then reading of the bill for amendments.

There is some question about the verbiage of the rule relative to an amendment which is made in order. I wish to assure the gentleman on the other side that it was my purpose to comply with their request to have the verbiage so that the amendment they have in mind, the so-called free-press amendment, will be held to be in order.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SABATH. I yield.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. I am very much pleased that the chairman of the Rules Committee has seen fit to mention that very question which has arisen as to the germaneness of the so-called free access to the news amendment, which is similar to the amendment I introduced when we had under consideration recently the bill providing an appropriation for UNRRA. The wording of the rule was a little difficult for me to understand.

I am happy that the gentleman has stated that in his opinion under the provisions of this rule the amendment mentioned would be held germane. I wish also to say to the chairman of the Rules Committee and to the House that in consultation with the Assistant Parliamentarian I have been assured that under the provisions of this rule the amendment which was offered before will be germane.

Mr. SABATH. I thank the gentleman. I regret exceedingly, of course, that it

is hard for the gentleman from Ohio to understand or construe the verbiage of the rule which I let him dictate. Perhaps, of course, the stenographer did not have accurately recorded what he said.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. I wonder if the gentleman will yield just a little further?

Mr. SABATH. With pleasure, as at all times.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Sometimes that which a person dictates is misinterpreted. I am afraid the gentleman did not understand that which was dictated on this rule because certainly the provisions of the rule are not the words I used in dictating the suggestion.

Mr. SABATH. But the intent is there.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. The intent and purpose are there.

Mr. SABATH. I stand by the statement that this so-called free-press amendment is not a perfect one by any means. I think it is unnecessary and unwise; nevertheless I am in favor of its being considered and I know it will be held in order. An identical House amendment was recently stricken in the Senate when it considered the last UNRRA bill.

I presume the provisions of this bill are known to nearly every, if not every, Member. I know that every Member here is in favor of our great Government keeping its pledges, carrying out its legal as well as its moral obligations. There may be some criticism of the expenditure of the funds or the administration of UNRRA, but, so far, I have not heard any really serious charge against the UNRRA organization. There may have been some administrators who were a little reckless, some might even have been dishonest, but, immediately that came to the attention of those in charge, they were dismissed; and now I understand that those Members who have been abroad and all others who have made a thorough investigation, are satisfied that, taking into consideration that there are about 8,500 people administering the act in many countries, there may be in some circumstances minor practices that may not be strictly economical or perhaps in some instances may even be unethical; but human nature is human nature, and among 8,500 administrators and employees we must expect to find a few who are incompetent and a few who wilfully transgress at times.

I am pleased that later the provisions of, and the need and the necessity for, the bill will be explained to the House not only by the chairman and the members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, but by an outstanding gentleman who has studied foreign affairs for months and who has the complete confidence of the House.

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SABATH. I yield.

Mr. JENKINS. It is impossible to get a copy of the rule, there is none on the desk. Let me ask the gentleman this general question: As I understand, this rule does not prevent any amendment that is germane to the bill, does it?

Mr. SABATH. It is an open rule. The gentleman from Ohio ought to know

by this time that whenever the chairman of the Committee on Rules can do so, whenever he is not voted down, he always reports an open rule to give the membership an opportunity to vote on any and all provisions and offer proper amendments to their hearts' content.

Mr. JENKINS. The trouble with all of that is the gentleman is voted down a good many times and we do not know from what the gentleman says what the rule means.

Mr. SABATH. The gentleman's influence, perhaps, with the Members on his side might help me sometimes, although, being perfectly frank, I cannot criticize and shall not criticize either majority or minority members of my committee, because they have been helpful in many instances in trying to do the right thing.

Mr. JENKINS. Getting back to my question, my question was, as I understand the rule, although we have not seen it, it is an open rule, with one exception, which exception is the amendment that the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BROWN] fathered before on the floor of the House.

Mr. SABATH. That is right.

The rule appears in a very recent issue of the RECORD.

It is not only an open rule but it permits the offering of an amendment that perhaps otherwise would not be in order. I refer to the so-called free-press amendment.

Mr. MICHENER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SABATH. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. MICHENER. It is an open rule plus one amendment which possibly would not be in order except for this particular rule?

Mr. SABATH. That is right.

Mr. MICHENER. One other question. This bill is not an appropriation bill, it is an authorization, and the money provided for in the authorization bill cannot be expended and will not be available until the House or the Congress through the regular appropriating agencies provides the money, is that correct?

Mr. SABATH. The gentleman is practically always right, and especially at this time he is right.

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SABATH. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. RABAUT. I commend the gentleman and the position he has taken this morning and how happy he should be that he can come out here for a rule on behalf of this great humanitarian proposition. We have considered the rescission bill and we are not asking for more funds to fight a war. We can now expand our abilities in other directions.

Mr. SABATH. I thank the gentleman for his timely observation. I hope to God that we will not be obliged to ask for any funds for war purposes in the future.

It is extremely regrettable that a few gentlemen on the floor of this House and some in the other body make erroneous statements, but I hope unintentionally, that are published widely and tend to effect disunity and discord among nations that have fought so valiantly and successfully to suppress the most savage

tyranny and bigotry that ever attempted to bar the march of progress.

These gentlemen are unmistakably actually endangering cooperation, peace, and friendship among the great nations. For instance, they are and have been continually challenging the sincerity of and respect Russia has for her plighted word: First, it was alleged that Russia would make a separate peace with Germany; that Russia would not cross the Russian western boundary to continue fighting Germany; that Russia was during the war negotiating a peace pact with Japan; that Russia would not let us use her airfields that were in proximity to Japan; that Russia would not aid us in the war against Japan. But what really happened? Every allegation against Russia has fallen of its own weight. No less a personage than Mr. Churchill is authority for the statement, which proved true, that Stalin promised the United States, England, and China that within 3 months after the fall of Germany he would be at war with Japan. The war with Germany ceased May 8, 1945, and exactly 3 months thereafter, or August 8, 1945, Russia declared war on Japan. And did Russia stop at her western border when she had chased the defeated Germans thereto? She did not. Then it was said that Russia would not go beyond Warsaw in helping the United Nation's war effort; but ultimately we found her valiant and victorious armies storming and taking the Nazi hotbed, Berlin.

Russia was severely criticized for negotiating a so-called peace pact with Germany in 1939. Any well-informed person knows that Russia, then unprepared for war, had to make a saving deal with Germany in order to gain 1 year within which to at least partially prepare for that which Russia well knew was in the future, namely, a long war with Germany. Churchill often said that he would negotiate an agreement with the devil if it would save his dear England; and why should Stalin be blamed for doing the same thing?

Obviously, Russia needed time to switch her powerful armies and their equipment from western Europe to the far east, else Russia would have sooner declared war on Japan. The allegation that the atom bomb and that Japan was already in the bag influenced Russia to declare war on Japan is also untrue. Russia needed a breathing spell and time to transfer her mighty armies eastward and that she accomplished her promise so punctually and well is to her everlasting credit. I forget to mention that Russia, respecting her treaty obligation, had to give Japan appropriate notice of her intention to cancel the then existing peace treaty between the two countries, which was another factor in delaying action by Russia against Japan.

Russia drove the Huns from not only her own country, but she cleared Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Austria, Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, East Prussia, and Yugoslavia of that black beast. And were those mighty campaigns expensive? It is reliably estimated that Russia has ocular proof in the form of 15,000,000 graves of her war effort. Many say that we furnished Russia the things necessary to ac-

compish her great success in the war. Let us see what the facts really are. We furnished Russia, through the lend-lease agreement, many materials and much food. I have not at hand the amount Russia advanced us by lend-lease in reverse, but she did make a substantial contribution in that way.

Looking at the matter from the painful basis of dollars versus deaths, in all probability we should have lost at least 3,000,000 more men if we had been required to meet Germany and her allies in a one-front war. What would have been our fate in landing in France if Germany could have centered all her armies in the two areas in France through which we entered Europe? Where would we have been; with England also, if the great Russian Armies had not so successfully engaged the German Armies all the way from Stalingrad to Berlin? Yes, Russia did help us very materially, and do not forget that. Eminent historians tell us that nothing like the Russian defense of Stalingrad ever happened before on this globe. Referring to a little history, did not Russia give us Alaska for a very very small part of its real worth, and did not Russia, in 1862-63, exercise a restraining influence upon those who were very much in favor of a division of the Union.

And is it any wonder that Russia, attacked three times in 25 years from the west, should strive with utmost zeal to have friends instead of enemies on her west front, and have that front fortified against potential enemies? Would not any prudent nation do likewise? And yet we frequently hear that Russia is preparing for aggression and the violation of the rights of weak nations. Remember, please, that the Treaty of Versailles erased Russia's exit to the Baltic on the west.

The Russians went into Manchuria in order to expel the Japanese, and now that the job has been consummated she is withdrawing in accordance with her plighted word.

The charge is now being made in irresponsible circles that Russia is aiding the Communists of north China. Opposed to that allegation we have the word of Russia that she is positively favoring and supporting the regularly constituted National Government of China, and abundant proof of that assertion from Chinese sources. Has not Mr. Hurley repeatedly assured us that the Russians are actively supporting the legal Government of China? Yet, despite these affirmations and this proper and regular conduct of Russia toward other nations, some among us continue to question the aspirations and the sincerity and sanctity of the Russian promise.

True, Russia does not at all times agree with the British policies and she is not desirous of helping Great Britain strengthen her hold upon her colonial possessions, such as India, which is seeking and has been promised freedom. So far as I have heard, few persons criticize the British cooperation with Spain, Italy, Portugal, her conduct in Greece, in Java, in Iran, and her trade arrangements with Argentina and other countries. England and the oil industry are conducting nefarious, but shrewd,

propaganda against Russia in order to gain control of Iran. That seems to have the approval of those Fascist-inclined gentlemen here and the capitalistic group in England and elsewhere.

Only this morning I read with profound disgust a statement in the press by a Senator from Mississippi, urging the strengthening of Germany, a policy that Great Britain pursued after World War I when she inspired Germany to gain strength to destroy Communist Russia. Statements like these are most dangerous and provocative in the extreme. The statement I have in mind reads as follows:

Meanwhile, Senator JAMES O. EASTLAND, Democrat, Mississippi, bluntly called for an economically strong Germany as a bulwark against Russia.

He told the Senate that Russia was a "predatory, aggressor nation."

Communism, he said, soon would take control of all Germany unless the United States abandons its sadistic policy toward this late enemy state. He suggested a new program to permit the Germans to find contentment in prosperity, and thus remain in the orbit of western civilization.

WANTS REICH RECOVERY

EASTLAND cautioned that there can be no permanent European recovery without German recovery.

In a 5,000-word speech, EASTLAND charged that the United States was starving the German people, and letting their industries be carried off. If this is continued much longer, EASTLAND said, it will drive Germany into the arms of communism.

EASTLAND recalled that Germany has served both as neutralizing agent and as a barrier between the oriental hordes and a western civilization 2,000 years old.

The Senator offered four specific recommendations:

1. Repudiation of the doctrine of collective guilt of the German people.

RELIEF NEED NOTED

2. The United States to demand that the starvation rations of the German people be increased, with a separate American relief machine to be set up.

3. Reunion of the four German zones under a central, non-Nazi civil administration.

4. End scorched earth reparations policies and set German peacetime industry in motion.

Is it any wonder, Mr. Speaker, that Russia aims to safeguard herself against the capitalistic group, the Fascists, and the Nazi ideologists?

Russia is not demanding anything that may be of real interest to us. She has been so seriously wounded that she naturally craves peace so that she may repair her injuries and rebuild and enlarge her commercial progress.

I hope the practices and policies being pursued by these Fascists will be investigated to learn how far-reaching this conspiracy extends in an effort to involve us in another devastating war.

I realize that most of these statements and press notices are from the same kind of people who hated Mr. Roosevelt and the New Deal so fervently, although they may be made only for political advantage at home, in line with the shameful fight made against the League of Nations. I need not point out the desirability and the necessity for all right-minded, patriotic, loyal citizens decrying these irresponsible utterances and writings that surely tend toward in-

volving us in serious potential and menacing dangers.

Somehow those who are fighting for freedom and liberty nowadays are always charged with being Communists. Under that theory, should we not call Washington and his gallant followers rebels? In their days the word "Communist" was not known or little used, but currently "communism" is a handy stick with which to indefinitely tar those who disagree with their Fascist-inclined, monopolistic, cartel-group accusers. And, later, what about those in the South who waged war against the Union? How would they be designated if their activities had occurred within the last 10 or 15 years? Yet those brave men were undoubtedly sincere, and they were ultimately granted an amnesty.

Because a few misled men and women in this country who are opposed to some British practices, such as using the United States and other Nations to pull their own chestnuts out of the fire, and other national ills, and parade their sentiments openly among us, those who seek a pretext to defame, vilify, incite, and inflame against Russia charge that these demonstrators are Communists and link them with the good name of Russia. No matter how harmless these advocates are, what good they mouth, and what respectable liveries they wear, they are, for the want of a better name, labeled "Communists."

These demonstrators at least work overtly, and they are less harmful than the representatives of the Fascist, Nazi ideologies, who said they would rather see Russia defeated instead of Germany.

Peace-minded Americans are bound to condemn these oft-repeated statements and activities of those who wittingly and unwittingly are gradually but surely trying to involve us in the worst thing that could infest any country—war.

I do not wish to make an exhaustive speech because I do not want to deprive the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. ROBERTSON], who will follow, of the opportunity to explain the bill more thoroughly and lucidly than I can.

Before yielding to the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. ROBERTSON], I am going to yield to my colleague the ranking minority member of the Rules Committee, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. ALLEN], 30 minutes, and reserve the remainder of my time.

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. BARDEN].

Mr. BARDEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Education may be permitted to sit during the remainder of the day while general debate is going on.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from North Carolina?

There was no objection.

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FULTON].

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD and to include a

release of the Public Relations Section of the Fifth Army of the United States in Italy.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, the able chairman has fully explained this rule. On this side of the aisle there is no objection to the consideration of the rule. However, we must not lose sight of the fact that this bill requires \$2,700,000,000 of the taxpayers' money. That is a great deal of money, especially when we realize that our national debt is now approaching nearly \$300,000,000,000. I know that this country has made certain obligations. It has made certain commitments to various foreign countries in regard to relief and in regard to the sheltering, the feeding, and the clothing of the people in those countries. I expect to vote for this authorization, but I reserve the right to oppose further spending for the relief of the world.

In regard to this \$2,700,000,000, that amount of money represents about \$100 for every family in the United States. When we have our Community Chest Fund drive I question whether there are many Members of Congress who give \$100 for the needy in their own country, but we sit here appropriating what amounts to \$100 for each family in the United States to take care of the starving and the destitute throughout the world. Some people seem to think more about foreign countries than they do of the United States.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. BLOOM. Did I understand the gentleman to say that this bill calls for \$2,700,000,000?

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. Yes.

Mr. BLOOM. I think the gentleman will concede that he is mistaken.

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. I mean this amount, with the other authorizations, totals \$2,700,000,000.

Mr. BLOOM. This bill calls for \$1,350,000,000. It merely amends the original act which was \$1,350,000,000, which has already been authorized and appropriated by this House. This calls for \$1,350,000,000 based on 1 percent of the income of the United States for the year 1943. This is merely an authorization.

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. This is an authorization for an additional \$1,350,000,000, making a total of \$2,700,000,000.

Mr. BLOOM. That is right.

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I yield 10 minutes to the gentlewoman from Connecticut [Mrs. LUCE], and ask unanimous consent that she may proceed out of order.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Illinois?

There was no objection.

Mrs. LUCE. Mr. Speaker, on November 28 on the floor of this House the gentleman from Washington [Mr. DE LACY] made a lengthy speech on the subject of China which was so replete with factual errors and distortions that

anyone in this House having the least knowledge of China must feel obliged to correct at least the more obvious, elementary, and flagrant errors in that speech.

You will not be read a lengthy lecture on China in the dogmatic, omniscient manner of the gentleman from Washington. Though I have had a lively interest in the subject for many years, and although, unlike the gentleman from Washington, I have at least seen China, I do not pretend to oracular wisdom on so vast a subject. But even in such a complex subject there are a few ascertainable facts, the falsification of which ought not to go unrebutted on the floor of this House. It is with a few such facts that I propose to deal.

First, the gentleman from Washington asserted that in areas where Communist-led troops were strong, the Japs were more quickly disarmed than elsewhere and Mr. Speaker, anyone who will take the trouble to look at a map of China will see that on VJ-day the Japs occupied in China—not counting Manchuria—at least 50 cities of 100,000 population or more. Three months after VJ-day the Chinese Communists had succeeded in taking over from the Japs exactly one of these cities, the city of Chefoo. Meanwhile the Government troops—in some important cases with American help, but in the great majority of cases without any help from us—the Government troops had taken over all the other cities and had disarmed at least two-thirds of all Japanese soldiers in China. If we call the roll of the famous cities of China which were taken over from the Japs without American aid, it would include cities which all of us here have heard of—Canton, Hankow, Foochow, Ningpo, Swatow—not to mention dozens of cities less familiar to our ears such as Tai-yuan, Tsinan, Lao-yang, Kiu-kiang, I-chang, and so on—all taken over with negligible assistance from America, or none whatever.

If the Communist-fed gentleman from Washington has any claims to present on behalf of the Communists as to how many Japs they have disarmed, let him make them. I have as yet heard none. But I can inform the House, that contrary to Communist propaganda minimizing the number of Jap soldiers in China—and in this speech I will throughout exclude Manchuria since that has not been under official American observation—in China after VJ-day there proved to be not less than 1,100,000 Jap soldiers. Of these the Communists have not conceivably disarmed more than 20,000 or 30,000, whereas the total number of Jap soldiers who have been disarmed amount to at least 800,000. American assistance in this task has been essential, but we cannot claim to have done more than a quarter of the work. The rest of the job which we may state arithmetically as 600,000 Jap soldiers disarmed has been done by Chinese Government troops.

The Communists try to gain American sympathy by wild claims such as were made on this floor last week. They have the gall to try to make you believe that the Chinese Communists disarmed more Japs more quickly than the government. The plain fact is that for every Jap dis-

armed by the Chinese Communists, Chiang Kai-shek's troops, unaided, have accounted for 20. To twist such figures around is, I submit, a form of misrepresentation which ought not to be practiced on the Members of this House.

Now, secondly, just as they are now trying to make you believe that the Chinese Communists have been great Jap-disarmers since VJ-day, so another part of the Communist line is that the Chinese Communists did a better job during the war than Chiang Kai-shek's troops did. This part of the Communist party line can also be punctured with figures—grim figures.

The Japanese never desired to exaggerate the seriousness of their struggle against Chiang, but the Japs did nevertheless keep an audit of their killed and wounded. This audit shows that more than 2,000,000 Japs were killed and wounded in China. Now the Communists never even venture to claim how many Japs they killed and wounded; they know they would be laughed at if they claimed even as many as 200,000 Jap casualties. Well, grant them that. Who killed and wounded the other 1,800,000 Japanese? There is only one answer to that question, Mr. Communist, and that is the grim answer to your—shall we say—unsportsmanlike misrepresentations.

Now let us go on to a third point. The Communists as everyone knows were guerrillas; they never maintained as the Government did over long years, hundreds of miles, at one time 2,000 miles, of organized resistance on a line of battle. The Communists were guerrillas. Guerrillas can do plenty of damage to the enemy by such feats as jumping on a railway guard and tearing up a piece of railroad. And during the war, the Communists—let us give them full credit—did a fair amount of this, just as non-Communist guerrillas did. Now here is an interesting fact: In 2 months after VJ-day the Communists tore up more railroad track in north China and destroyed more railway equipment than in any 2 years before VJ-day. Who were they hurting, who were they assaulting after VJ-day? Not Japan—the Japs had quit. They were assaulting the body of China, and thereby they were assaulting all the United Nations, and especially they were assaulting a vital interest of the United States which is peace and order in China.

Mr. Speaker, I am speaking of facts—the sometimes unpleasant arithmetic of facts. It is a simple fact that the Chinese Communists have done more destructive damage in north China since VJ-day than they did before.

Now, let us make two or three more factual corrections to the encyclopedia of error which was presented to you by the gentleman from Washington. In at least one other case the correction can again be made by cold, arithmetical fact.

Mr. DE LACY's most absurd error is contained in the following fantastic assertion:

During the war only the brief period of General Stilwell's vigorous efforts at elemental reforms saw even temporary improvement in the general defeatism, inefficiency, downright bad government—

And so forth. Now, that is profoundly unfair to the gallant General Stilwell, since he would be the first to say that he was much too busy on the Burma side of the Hump to devote more than a very small fraction of his time to the reforms of the Government of China. And it is an even more stupid insult to Chiang Kai-shek, and the millions who stood with him not only against "defeatism"—how these Communists love isms—but against the terrible specter of defeat itself. But we will make the correction to this comical or tragic bundle of error by an arithmetical fact. The one great index of defeatism or defeat or inefficiency is inflation. When General Stilwell took his command in China, the Chinese dollar in the black market or free market—whichever you like—was about 40 Chinese dollars to 1 American; when he left it was between 1,000 and 1,500 Chinese dollars to 1 American. That is, in the Stilwell period inflation increased by at least 2,000 percent. The increase in inflation after Stilwell's departure up to VJ-day—nearly 1 year—was about 50 percent. Now, let me be clear. Gallant General Stilwell bears absolutely no blame for this. This was a situation beyond his control, and he was otherwise occupied. I am simply pointing out how you may expect to get from Communists not merely a little distortion but a distortion of 180 degrees. The Communists, trying to make General Stilwell their man, associate with him a period of improvement in the situation in China, whereas the truth is that he was there during China's worst years during which China came almost to collapse. And nothing better indexes the truth than the arithmetical fact that during the period to which the gentleman from Washington [Mr. De Lacy] refers inflation rose 2,000 percent—2,000 percent—whereas after we got ourselves extricated from the Communist saboteurs the rate of inflation fell from 1,000 percent per annum to 50 percent.

Now we have made four basic corrections to basic errors and we have made them with arithmetical fact. Two errors cannot be dealt with by arithmetic, but they are also questions of fact.

These two errors are, first, to assert that the Chinese Communists have established a wonderful democratic regime in the areas they control and, second, to talk as the gentleman did of the Kuomintang's pretensions to one-party dictatorship.

As to the Communist achievement in government, the simple fact is that the Communists in China have never established any form of stable government whatever. The best way, in a word, to dramatize this fact is that until they occupied one small city after VJ-day, the Chinese Communists had never been in control of what could be called even a middle-sized city. Maybe they could do a fine job of government—incidentally Stalin does not think they are capable of governing. The fact to emphasize here, is that to date they have never governed. Therefore all the claims for their so-called reforms are entirely untested if not irresponsible claims. To claim that the Communists have ever governed any tiny part of China with a degree of

public responsibility remotely comparable to the Central Government in both domestic and foreign affairs, is the grossest distortion in the whole vocabulary of Communist distortion.

And finally as to the Kuomintang pretensions to one-party rule: If the Kuomintang is making any pretensions, the pretensions it is now making is that next year it will end one-party rule.

As an example of the frightful and frightening ignorance which I hope alone explains why the gentleman from Washington can swallow so much of the Communist Party line—one more word about the Kuomintang and one-party rule in China. The idea of one-party rule may or may not have been a good idea for China. But whose idea was it? It was the idea of the man whom the Communists pretend to revere even more than he is revered by the government; it was the idea of Sun Yat-sen.

Whatever some gullible Americans may think, no responsible Chinese, Communist or other, thinks that Sun Yat-sen's idea was a bad idea for China. And by the same token, today, every responsible Chinese from Chiang Kai-shek down thinks the time has come to end the period of one-party rule. Of course, we never hear in this House from the Moscow-tuned voices any objection whatever to one-party rule in Russia, but we do hear them yell their heads off about one-party rule in China. Let them save their breath and keep their peace. In China one-party rule is no issue; the only difference of opinions are as to the tough, practical problems of how to end it and exactly what methods of government will best serve the interests of 450,000,000 people when, next year, the Kuomintang gives up monopoly of government.

And these hard, practical Chinese questions, Mr. Speaker, we dare hope will be settled tolerably well next year—almost as tolerably well as we shall settle some of our much less difficult problems here—we dare hope.

China will have a better chance to solve them better if we Americans are not distracted by Communist propaganda but hew to the line of honorable, decent co-operation with the people of China as individuals, as law-abiding groups and through the lawful Government of the Republic of China.

Some of you may ask: but who are we to believe concerning Chinese affairs? Well, if someone gets up on this floor and makes a great parade of his love and concern for China, it is not irrelevant to wonder whether, apart from the Communist issue, he ever gave any evidence of having been interested in doing anything to help China or to advance Chinese-American relations. I do not ask that only the ardent friends of China should speak of China on this floor. Far from it. The duty of all of us is to speak first as Americans. We all recognize that it is important to America that she should pursue a right and not a wrong policy in China. But we do not like to see someone pretending to be full of loving concern for the Chinese people when the only thing that provokes him to action is a matter which primarily concerns the Communist Party.

Finally, let me say that I have hopes that our troubles in regard to a true American policy toward China are largely over. I share the belief of the vast majority of Americans that General Marshall would not go to China unless he had a clear policy behind him, and we know he would not go there with a policy which was in any sense contrary to the interests and ideals of our country.

None of us are so foolish as to expect miracles in times such as these. But I, for one, do believe that, with a sound American policy, we shall see China well on her way to becoming a united and progressive nation.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mrs. LUCE. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. SABATH. May I inquire whether the gentleman has informed the gentleman from Washington she intended to take him to task and criticize him?

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, will the lady yield?

Mrs. LUCE. I yield to the gentleman from Mississippi.

Mr. RANKIN. I wonder when the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SABATH] got interested in having the Members of the House called to this floor when they are being attacked. I have been attacked by that left-wing crowd time and time again and I have never been notified yet.

Mrs. LUCE. Furthermore I am not attacking the gentleman from Washington [Mr. De Lacy]. I am rectifying his errors.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mrs. LUCE. I yield gladly.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. In fact, the Chinese Communists are attacking the territorial integrity of China which we had guaranteed by several treaties, are they not?

Mrs. LUCE. The gentleman has made a very true point. I thank him for it.

Mr. RANKIN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mrs. LUCE. I yield.

Mr. RANKIN. I wonder if the lady has noticed that the statements made in the speeches here attacking the administration, in favor of the Chinese Communists, were verbatim the statements carried on some of these Communist placards now being carried around the State Department to insult Secretary Byrnes?

Mrs. LUCE. I thank the gentleman for the observation. There is not the shadow of a doubt that the statements made on the floor about China in the speech to which I refer followed the Communist Party line in every essential.

Mr. DONDERO. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mrs. LUCE. I am delighted to yield to the gentleman.

Mr. DONDERO. May I call your attention to the fact that when Tung-Pi-Wu came to this country for the San Francisco Conference as the one official Communist delegate representing the north China regime, the first thing he did when he landed in San Francisco was to take a plane for New York where he held a 5-hour conference with Mr. Jaffe and Mr. Browder at which time

Jaffe had in his office stolen files from naval intelligence and the State Department giving all the information on Chiang Kai-shek's army.

Mrs. LUCE. I thank the gentleman for contributing that most illuminating fact.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. ANGELL. Mr. Speaker, on yesterday I was given permission to extend an article in the Appendix of the RECORD. The Public Printer advises me that it will take 4½ pages of the RECORD at a cost of \$234. I ask unanimous consent notwithstanding the cost that the extension may be made.

The SPEAKER. Notwithstanding the cost and without objection, the extension may be made.

There was no objection.

UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. ROBERTSON].

Mr. ROBERTSON of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I was happy to hear the distinguished gentleman from Illinois [Mr. ALLEN] say there would be no opposition on his side to the rule.

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROBERTSON of Virginia. I yield. Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. I said there was no objection to the rule.

Mr. ROBERTSON of Virginia. That is what I said. I therefore take it for granted that the rule will be adopted, and my remarks will be addressed to the bill that will be brought before us under the rule.

I have heard it stated that there is more opposition to UNRRA in the United States than in all the rest of the world combined. If that be true, it must be because we have been farther removed from the unparalleled destruction and suffering of the war-torn countries of the world. Yet we have not escaped. Over a million of our boys have been killed and wounded. I heard a chaplain on Armistice Day in Winchester, Va., say, "No casualty list is light if the name of your boy is on it." I know on December 25 there will be many mothers in this country who will stand before their Christmas trees with tears in their eyes while in their heavy hearts they recall the lament of King David over his son Absalom: "Would to God I might have died for thee."

Mr. Speaker, I am for this bill, because to me it represents a legal obligation on our part. In the spring of 1944 we voted to go into an international organization for relief of war-torn countries and were then joined by 46 other nations.

When it became apparent in London last summer that we did not have enough funds to do the necessary job to which we were committed, our distinguished representative, Mr. Will Clayton, of the State Department, committed us to carry on for another year on the same basis, which was 1 percent of each contributing nation's national income as of 1943. We had an income then of \$135,000,000,000, which makes our pro rata contribution for 1946 \$1,350,000,000.

I am for this bill, because to me it represents a moral obligation on our part. We are the chosen representatives of a Christian nation, which does not want us to echo in these halls the cynical answer of Cain when asked, "Where is thy brother Abel?" We subscribe to the ethical teachings of the first century, which includes the statement that no man liveth to himself and no man dieth alone. That statement was issued in a small world dominated by the Roman legions. Science has brought the mighty nations of the modern world jostling together, and man's mastery of the air has wiped out boundary lines, and we now know, as Wendell Willkie so truly said, we are living in one world. We know the ethical teachings to which we subscribe.

We talk beautifully about democracy. We know what we should do to live our democracy and to make good our boast that we are a Christian nation.

He that has light within his own clear breast May sit i' the center, and enjoy bright day; But he that hides a dark soul and foul thoughts Benighted walks under the midday sun; Himself is his own dungeon.

The Nation, the Christian Nation of the United States, looks to us for leadership here and abroad in a new type of world, in a world that is dedicated to friendliness and peace, in a world in which we hope war can be eliminated as the arbitrament of international differences.

I am for this bill, Mr. Speaker, because I believe in voting this appropriation; even if we put it on a charity basis we will be casting our bread upon the waters to be returned, as Billy Sunday once said, "covered with butter and jam." I understand that the Army, on the basis of the relief that we would have friends and international cooperation, is asking for an appropriation of \$10,000,000,000 for the next fiscal year, and that the Navy on the same basis is asking for three and one-half billions. When I hear of an appropriation I proceed to translate it into terms of taxes, because that is my primary field. Those appropriations of \$13,500,000,000 translated into taxes would mean that the last peacetime rates of 1939 applied to the anticipated income of \$130,000,000,000 would not produce enough for our proposed peacetime Military Establishment if \$13,500,000,000 be appropriated for that purpose. Who could say if we decided to face the world alone, to have an armament that would enable us to feel secure without a friend or any ally, what the crushing tax burden of this Nation might be?

Mr. Speaker, I am for this bill because there appears no other plan, and without this aid millions in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Greece, and Albania will die this winter. Among those in charge of this program are Commander Jackson, of Australia, who serves as senior deputy director general, a man of extraordinary ability; General Gale, of the United Kingdom, who was General Eisenhower's chief administrative officer, now heading the London office; Lieutenant General Morgan, also of the United Kingdom, who was General Eisenhower's deputy administrative offi-

cer, in charge of UNRRA's displaced persons operations in Germany. Major General Rooks, deputy administrative officer in the Mediterranean theater, has been released by our War Department to serve as deputy director and executive officer of UNRRA headquarters here in Washington. I am informed that many other top-grade civilians and military personnel will join the UNRRA staff and its China mission if and when UNRRA obtains the additional funds it needs to complete its program. The only other agency we might have had was the Army, and General Eisenhower recently testified the Army could not do the job. You know how we have been clamoring to bring our boys home.

As a former football player I enjoyed seeing Doc Blanchard on the Army team perform in Philadelphia last Saturday and I took particular note of the fact that when the Navy tacklers met him head-on he bowled them over. Look at the picture of his first touchdown. I was sitting within 20 yards of him when he made it and I saw the Navy man fall on his back when he hit Blanchard straight from the front. They could only stop him when they made a slicing attack from the side and took him off his feet. Opponents cannot meet the issue face on in the matter of feeding the starving of Europe; it will be the slicing attacks that will take the program off its feet by those who say: "I am for it, but."

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman from Virginia has expired.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield five additional minutes to the gentleman from Virginia.

Mr. ROBERTSON of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I want to tell those who propose to vote against this bill that UNRRA of its own volition has adopted every plan for better administration that has been proposed on this floor with the exception of the so-called free-press amendment which it was powerless to adopt. I have pointed out that 47 nations are now giving relief, not in Russia, not in Germany, but in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Greece, and Albania.

Next year if we have the funds we hope to extend that relief to Italy, Austria, and China. UNRRA can arrange and has arranged for all of its employees to get all the information that it wants and needs from every country in which it operates. We have no right, legal or moral, to amend an international agreement unilaterally to provide that if this relief, for instance, should be extended to the Ukraine or to White Russia, Russia must give to all private representatives of the press complete freedom to operate in those countries. I say that that amendment is a slicing attack to take this program off its feet by those who would not dare make a head-on tackle.

We have made five international agreements: San Francisco, two at Bretton Woods—the International Bank and the stabilization of currency—one for international food and agriculture, and one for UNRRA. This is the first one we have been called on to actually implement. If we fail on this who will

there be in the nations of the world to trust us on the rest of the program?

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROBERTSON of Virginia. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. SABATH. I hate to interrupt the gentleman in his great speech; nevertheless I feel that the membership of the House and the country should know that the amount we are authorizing here will be used to take care of our surpluses that we will ship over there and the surpluses that are already over there.

Mr. ROBERTSON of Virginia. You cannot spend dollars anywhere else but here. Who can furnish the food? The United States, Canada, New Zealand, and Australia. Already three of those countries have imposed rationing on their citizens. Canada returned to rationing of meat while we took it off. They are living up to their agreement. Russia is living up to her agreement. But UNRRA is now behind in operating funds to the extent of \$580,000,000 and we owe of that amount \$550,000,000. In estimating the deficit for the current fiscal year, due to war spending, at \$30,000,000,000, the items for UNRRA of \$550,000,000 for 1945 and \$1,350,000,000 for 1946 have been included.

There has been distributed over two and a half million tons of supplies to the needy people over there. They need to spend \$270,000,000 this month in our country for food and other supplies and from \$270,000,000 to \$300,000,000 next month or else many are going to suffer, many are going to die.

The money will be spent here. It will take from our market some surpluses that we can well afford to sell and maybe some other things that we should gladly share with those less fortunate than we.

I hope and believe that this Congress will do the right and honorable thing on this program of international cooperation.

It is the problem of urgency in this matter that concerns me most. I am told, and I do not question it, that if UNRRA is not given funds in addition to the \$550,000,000 recently appropriated, it will have to cut by more than two-thirds its shipments in February, and will have no supplies for shipment thereafter. This means that without additional funds UNRRA collapses in the middle of perhaps the worst winter that all of the nations which it is aiding have ever faced. Only by acting immediately to supply UNRRA with the needed funds can this catastrophe be prevented. If there is not to be a great reduction in the flow of UNRRA's relief supplies to Europe during February, and an almost complete stoppage of the flow during March, UNRRA must have in hand additional substantial funds not later than January 10. By that date arrangements for procuring and shipping relief supplies during February must be made or such supplies will not flow.

These are the facts. There is only one conclusion to draw from them.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Virginia has expired.

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. BROWN] such time as he may require.

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, it is only through an informed public we can know the benefits contemplated under this legislation are actually given to the starving people of Europe, and it is only through a free press and a free radio the American people can obtain and receive full and complete information as to the operation of this international agency.

Therefore, as provided in this rule, I expect to offer at the proper time and at the proper place, when this measure is before the House tomorrow, an amendment identical to that which was adopted by this House on similar legislation a short time ago.

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentlewoman from Illinois [Miss SUMNER].

Miss SUMNER of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, it seems important to point out that some of the remarks that have been made here by advocates of UNRRA are not consistent with reality. For instance, today some talk about being faced with war. The truth is that, as of today, we are in a war already. We are in a war in China. It is as it was before the recent war, when American ships carried scrap iron to the Japs and our Government gave aid at the same time to China. Today, in China, Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist Government is fighting the Communists. The United States is aiding that Nationalist Government of China, headed by Chiang Kai-shek. At the same time the Communists are being aided by Russia, and we, the United States, are giving aid, through UNRRA and loans, to Russia. In short, we are acting as an arsenal for both sides of a war and are a party thereto. Now, you cannot, as I see it, think about UNRRA unless you think about that situation, too.

Look at Europe. At Yalta, followed by Potsdam, Europe was divided so that today an iron curtain of Russian steel separates northeastern Europe from southwestern Europe. Northeastern Europe is occupied by the Russians on a line extending from Stettin to Trieste. To the southwest of that line is the rest of Europe, which is the industrial part, which is occupied by the Anglo-Americans. On the north in the Russian zone of occupation, are all of these countries to which UNRRA is donating; Yugoslavia, Poland, and Czechoslovakia. That is the Russian sphere of influence on the north of the iron curtain. I am not including Greece, which is in the control of the British, and UNRRA is donating there, too. But UNRRA is not giving food in the Anglo-American sphere, which is our responsibility. The population is not allocated as in normal times, moreover, since part of Germany has been given to Poland and is in the Russian sphere of occupation. There are millions—the number is not precise, but I think some writers have estimated that there are 19,000,000 displaced Germans or persons of German extraction who have been dumped over from the Russian sphere, including Czechoslovakia, into the Anglo-American sphere of truncated Germany. We cannot feed those millions of refugees while UNRRA is giving the people in the Russian-occupied sphere all of our Amer-

ican surplus material. To add to that, all of the area in the Russian sphere at the north is the surplus food area of Europe, which you might compare to the Midwest surplus food area of the United States. There are columnists and newspaper correspondents of some repute who say that today there is much surplus food in that area. We cannot get into the Russian puppet countries to see for ourselves, but that is reported that there is food lying on the ground unharvested on the farms in the Russian occupied area.

This is entirely plausible. Why? Because these millions of farmers have been dumped into the Anglo-American sphere and their farms communized and given to people who are not accustomed to doing farm work.

Therefore, as I see it, in voting for UNRRA you are voting to prevent the food going to the starving people in the Anglo-American sphere, and instead giving it to those who do not need it in the Russian sphere. In addition, you are aiding Russia in a war in China in which you are already fighting on the other side.

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I yield 9 minutes to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. O'KONSKI].

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Speaker, if all of us want the functions of UNRRA to be successful I think we must first go to the bottom to find out with just what kind of governments and with what kind of men UNRRA is going to deal. I propose to talk about one of those governments and one of those men this afternoon.

Mr. Speaker, the march of quislings to Washington has begun. Before long there will be a section in our Nation's Capitol known as quislings row. The first and foremost quisling of all history has just arrived in Washington. I say he is the first and foremost quisling in all history because he has proved to be a quisling of not only one country, but a quisling of two countries—one of which is our own United States of America.

I refer to Oscar Lange, a would-be Ambassador of Poland to the United States of America. He has just arrived in the United States of America with fresh instructions from Moscow—posing as an Ambassador of Poland. For Oscar Lange to pose as an Ambassador of Poland is grossly immoral and in violation of every segment of international law. The fact is, Oscar Lange represents only the group in Poland who rule Poland with Moscow guns pointed at their heads. This present so-called government in Poland has no authority whatever except the force of Moscow. These present rulers of Poland were not selected by any election and are usurpers in every sense of the word.

Mr. PATRICK. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. O'KONSKI. No; I will not yield. I have too much to say that is more important than what the gentleman has to say.

Mr. PATRICK. That is too bad.

Mr. O'KONSKI. In the eyes of decency and international law these rulers in Poland are nothing but a conglomeration of gangsters, criminals, forgers, fakers, and quislings. In fact 33 nations of the world still flatly refuse to recognize them and flatly refuse to have anything to do with them.

Oscar Lange is a shining example of the type of quisling who have taken over Poland in typical gangster and quisling fashion. Oscar Lange is a man who even out-quislings Quisling. He is a traitor of the first order.

Let us look at his record. Born a son of German settlers in Poland, the country he betrayed, he received an excellent education at the expense of the government he betrayed. In 1937 the Polish Government he betrayed even offered him a scholarship to go to the United States for further study. At that time Poland was being pressed by Germany to join Hitler. As soon as Oscar came to the United States, while accepting funds from the Polish Government to study in the United States of America, he indulged immediately in propaganda against the government that was feeding him. His quisling traits became known as soon as he hit American shores. Showing typical German ingratitude towards his benefactors, he indulged in anti-Polish activities and was satisfied for Hitler to destroy Poland—in fact it pleased him when Hitler did take over Poland.

But Oscar Lange was in danger. When Hitler attacked Poland, and later when Russia attacked Poland, Lange was still a citizen of Poland. Being a citizen of Poland, he feared the Polish Government might draft him into service to fight for the country that gave him his education and even a scholarship to study in America. The fear that he might be drafted to fight for Poland led Oscar Lange to seek American citizenship. Once he was enjoying the protection of American citizenship—the danger of his being called to fight for his country—Poland—was gone.

Hence, in 1943 he became a citizen of the United States of America. Now he had protection. It was protection he wanted and nothing else. Patriotism has no place in Oscar Lange's heart. Citizenship of a country for Oscar Lange is only a means of getting what he wants. He turns it on and off like water or electricity. One day he is a citizen of one country and the next day he wants to be a citizen of another country.

But now that he was safe as an American citizen in 1943 and after seeing that Hitler no longer could keep Poland—but things started to pick up for Russia and it looked like Russia might now get and keep Poland—Oscar Lange got a change of heart and changed from pro-German to pro-Russian.

So, as soon as he became an American citizen, he joined every pro-Russian organization in the United States, and while enjoying the protection of the Stars and Stripes, he held in his heart the hammer and sickle.

He then became a leading speaker on the speakers bureau of New America. Ten days after he became a citizen of our country he spoke for a new social order in America by saying that our Constitution was of the horse-and-buggy age. This is clear evidence that he took his oath of citizenship in our country under false pretenses. The fact that he criticized our form of government 10 days after he became a citizen ought

alone to show Oscar Lange up for the quisling he is.

He became a member of the Chicago Committee of the Russian War Relief.

Mr. PATRICK. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. O'KONSKI. Instead of giving relief to the Russian people, these funds were spent to lavishly entertain the Soviet delegates to the San Francisco Conference.

Mr. PATRICK. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

The SPEAKER. Does the gentleman from Wisconsin yield to the gentleman from Alabama?

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Speaker, I refuse to yield.

Mr. PATRICK. Mr. Speaker, I rise to a point of order.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state the point of order.

Mr. O'KONSKI. I do not see what point of order the gentleman has to make.

Mr. PATRICK. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman is speaking entirely out of order without any permission.

Mr. O'KONSKI. Mr. Speaker, I submit that I am speaking in order because when we are appropriating or authorizing the appropriation of \$1,350,000,000 to help the people of foreign countries, we have to deal with the governments of those countries and the leaders of the governments of those countries. I am talking about the leaders and the governments of those countries we propose to help, and I submit that I am proceeding completely in order.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Wisconsin will proceed in order.

Mr. PATRICK. Mr. Speaker, I will withdraw the point of order if it will help any.

Mr. O'KONSKI. I think you should withdraw it.

Mr. O'KONSKI. In May 1943, Glos Ludowy, the Soviet newspaper in Detroit, called Oscar Lange an eminent Polish-American scholar.

Later Oscar Lange was listed as a speaker at a rally in Carnegie Hall, New York, under the auspices of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship. He refused to speak when he learned that one speaker was going to criticize the Soviet Union for executing Alter and Erlich, two prominent Socialist Polish labor leaders. Even if the Russians killed labor leaders, that was agreeable to Lange—as long as those killed were Poles.

Later in 1943, Oscar Lange bitterly attacked General Sikorski for organizing a Polish Army in Africa, England, and Scotland. He was afraid that the organizing of any army outside of Poland might some day be used to restore a free and independent Poland. Poland was under German and Russian control and Lange did not want that condition to be disturbed.

Lange later was instrumental in organizing the Kosciusko Legion, a pro-Communist legion in America who salute only the Russian flag—but never the American flag.

Later Oscar Lange made himself a self-appointed ambassador and got our State

Department's approval to fly over to Moscow with Orlemanski. Lange wanted fresh instructions from Moscow. Ordinary communications might be intercepted and decoded. Moscow called Lange to come at once. To cover up, he took a priest with him. Lange came back from Moscow with fresh instructions on how to destroy Poland. He carried out those instructions to the letter.

As soon as Lange returned from his Moscow trip he and his stooges stepped up their activities in the United States of America. He now addressed Communist meetings all over the United States of America and waved the Red flag and completely forgot the American flag whose protection he was now enjoying. Moscow now referred to Lange as the only Pole in the United States of America they could truly trust.

By now Hitler was driven out of Poland, and there was no division of feeling in Lange's heart. Knowing Russian control over Poland was assured and approved at Yalta, Lange now spoke fully and completely in favor of Russian domination over Poland.

But now Oscar Lange did not need the protection of American citizenship any more. The war was over. The Polish Government that might have drafted him was betrayed and abolished. So now Lange renounced his American citizenship and became a citizen of the Soviet Union. He got what he wanted out of his American citizenship. It has no further value to him for the time being. So now he betrayed Poland, and he betrayed the United States of America, the country to which he took an oath of allegiance. He now out-quislinged Quisling and became a quisling of two countries.

The past 3 months Lange spent in Poland commuting constantly to Moscow to get fresh instructions. He has now landed in Washington with credentials from Moscow to be an Ambassador of Poland.

By all rules of morality, just why does our State Department permit such goings on? By what rules of morality does our State Department govern to recognize such a quisling as an ambassador to any country? Is that the kind of people our State Department proposes to deal with? If that is the case, I am ashamed of our State Department. If that is the case, I no longer hold one iota of respect for our State Department.

I thought that we fought a war to hang quislings. But it looks like if a man out-quislings Quisling he gets to be an ambassador. Oscar Lange's appearance in Washington, posing as an Ambassador of Poland, reaches the lowest and rankest performance in all history. If his credentials are accepted by our State Department, I think that Congress ought to find out why.

The present so-called government in Poland is not a legal government in any sense of the word. No true Pole had a voice in that government. It is a government by force—by Russian arms and nothing else. Thirty-three nations refuse to have anything to do with it.

Oscar Lange has no more right to be an Ambassador of the Polish Govern-

ment than I have a right to be Soviet Ambassador to this country. Oscar Lange is a quisling and a traitor of the first order. He betrayed the United States of America in its strained relations with Russia. Oscar Lange is just another Russian Ambassador period. He would betray his mother if he thought it would promote Oscar Lange.

The height of his betrayal is evidenced by the fact that although he renounced his American citizenship he wanted it clearly understood by the State Department that his wife will keep her American citizenship. Why? Because if anything goes wrong, Lange will claim American citizenship again behind the skirts of his wife and again enjoy the full protection of American citizenship which he has already once betrayed.

Yes, the quislings are beginning their march to Washington. The first and the worst of them is already here to take over the Embassy of 25,000,000 brave and gallant people of Poland who have been betrayed by their allies. Is it any wonder that America is losing its influence the world over? One just cannot deal with a quisling and command respect nohow.

THE SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Wisconsin has expired.

(Mr. STEFAN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks and to include therein several letters.)

Mr. STEFAN. Mr. Speaker, many people have been interested in the possibility of personally sending a package of food to their relatives and acquaintances in Europe, especially those places which are not serviced by UNRRA. I have been advised that some 22 voluntary agencies in the United States engaged in foreign relief are about to organize a nonprofit corporation to permit the purchase of food packages by individuals and institutions in the United States and have them sent to their relatives and acquaintances. I also am informed that Mr. Donald Nelson, formerly of WPB, may become the active director of this proposed organization and that details will shortly be announced, including the countries where facilities can be granted for the delivery of packages. The corporation, I am informed, is to be known as Cooperative for American Remittances to Europe.

There has been so much interest manifested in this organization by Members of the House of Representatives and many of my constituents that I have made some inquiry as to what form would be used in the shipment of this food. I am told that in September and October of this year UNRRA purchased 7,700,000 cases of surplus 10-in-1 food packages. The Army had purchased these 10-in-1 food packages for the purpose of supplying our troops in the Pacific.

Each of these packages contains 10 breakfasts, 10 dinners, and 10 suppers. They include various kinds of meats and concentrated food and accessory packages containing soap, some chocolate bars, and so forth. These packages are so well wrapped that I have been told

they would withstand submerging in water for several days. No repackaging is necessary, and they are ready for delivery. It was stated at one time that 7,700,000 of these packages were in Europe and ready for delivery. That is not the fact. My information develops the information that 4,000,000 of these packages are already in transit and will be distributed by UNRRA and over 3,000,000 additional packages will be available to this new organization by UNRRA, which has informed me it will be glad to turn them over to Mr. Nelson's organization when the organization is ready for operation. I understand the plan is to sell these packages to individuals and institutions at a cost of approximately \$12 each. If this organization is formed, it would then be possible for an individual American to send his contribution to the organization with the name and address of the party to whom he wishes it delivered. This service would be supplementary to the relief work being done by UNRRA, and I understand the Department of State and the President's War Relief Control Board are in favor and giving encouragement to this proposed corporation.

It is my understanding that UNRRA some time during September and October purchased from the United States Army \$100,000,000 worth of food, including the 7,700,000 packages of 10-in-1 rations and many millions of packages of C and K rations. This information is for those who have asked during the debate as to what additional efforts are being made to feed hungry people other than through UNRRA.

Regarding the request for new UNRRA authorizations, Mr. Speaker, I reserve my decision until I have heard all of the debate. I include in my remarks a few letters and a telegram from farm organizations indicating their position on this legislation:

WASHINGTON, D. C., December 4, 1945.

Representative KARL STEFAN,

House Office Building, Washington, D. C.:

The National Farmers Union, understanding you intend to speak tomorrow on behalf of the new authorization for United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, wishes you to know that it strongly urges the passage of the bill without amendments or riders that will in any way hamper effective relief among the hungry and distressed abroad. Our members believe that the leadership of the United States toward a better world will be impaired if it does not generously fulfill its commitments, and that the consciences of the American people will not approve of failure of Congress to meet this obligation. Farmers above all others would deplore seeing people in other lands hungry if there is any step that the United States can take to aid them. Moreover, from a coldly realistic point of view, American farmers wish to see surpluses disposed of so that they will not depress domestic price levels. But our members also feel that passage of the bill should be followed up by stringent administrative action to see to it that every dollar of UNRRA funds buys all possible foods and fibres and that allocations are made to insure these commodities actually getting to the people that need them. Good luck.

JAMES G. PATTON,

President, National Farmers Union.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF FARMER
COOPERATIVES,

Washington, D. C., December 5, 1945.

HON. KARL STEFAN,

House of Representatives,

Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. STEFAN: The National Council of Farmer Cooperatives has consistently supported the establishing of the United Nations Organization and the Food and Agriculture Organization as institutions for the promotion of world peace. Consistent with this policy we recognize the necessity of feeding, clothing, and otherwise caring for the destitute and suffering peoples of liberated and conquered countries.

Toward this end we urge the fulfillment of our commitment to UNRRA. At the same time, in order that the resulting benefits may be as great as possible, we urge that appropriate steps be taken to assure timely, efficient, and effective use of such funds.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN H. DAVIS,
Executive Secretary.

THE NATIONAL GRANGE,

OFFICE OF LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL,

Washington, D. C., December 4, 1945.

HON. KARL STEFAN,

House Office Building,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN STEFAN: I have been informed of your interest in the action taken by the National Grange in the seventy-ninth annual session at Kansas City, Mo., last month in regard to the meeting of our relief commitments for Europe.

The resolution adopted represents action taken after careful consideration, including first-hand information from the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration urging endorsement of the bill for additional UNRRA appropriations. The resolution follows:

"While military hostilities have ceased, the job of reconstruction lies before us. Hunger, want, and distress in war-torn areas are increasing as the resulting effects of active conflict.

"A program for relief of distressed people has been developed. It has been entered upon in good faith. Our promises have been made. Fear has been allayed and hope restored because of the action taken by all the United Nations.

"Our obligations to suffering humanity must be fulfilled and we urge Congress to meet the commitments made, and to do what may be necessary to aid deserving war-torn nations to become self-supporting."

Sincerely,

FRED BAILEY.

NOVEMBER 21, 1945.

HON. SOL BLOOM,

Chairman, Committee on Foreign Affairs,

House of Representatives,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR CHAIRMAN BLOOM: At the last annual meeting of the American Farm Bureau Federation, held in Chicago last December, the voting delegates, elected by the Farm Bureau members, adopted a series of recommendations calling for the United States to play its part in world affairs, and to use its position of world leadership to assist not only in the maintenance of international peace and security, but also in the solution of international economic problems, in order to lay a sound economic foundation for an enduring peace.

In its resolution on international cooperation, the federation stated: "Due to a combination of many factors, this Nation is in a position of world leadership. We cannot shirk our responsibility to future generations."

Among the various measures for postwar reconstruction the federation recognized the necessity for temporary relief assistance to peoples in war-torn areas, and urged that the United States lend a helping hand to weaker nations to meet these needs, but stressed that such assistance should be directed in such a manner as to "effect real rehabilitation and to assist nations to help themselves and lay a sound foundation on which to build world trade"; and that the United States should set an "example for them to follow in the organization of their domestic economy, by sharing our technical skills, and helping them to help themselves create a fuller and more abundant life." We believe that merely "furnishing of vast amounts of relief in the form of goods or money over an extended period of time will aggravate, rather than solve, international problems."

Pursuant to these recommendations, we have supported the appropriation of necessary funds to enable the United States to complete its initial commitment of \$1,350,000,000 to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration to provide needed relief for the peoples of war-torn nations.

We are informed that the \$800,000,000 already appropriated by the United States to UNRRA has been completely exhausted, and that the additional contribution by the United States of \$550,000,000, recently approved by the House, which is the final installment on our initial pledge to UNRRA will probably all be used before the end of 1945 because of the extreme distress now prevailing in many of the war-torn nations.

It seems unthinkable that our Nation would be willing to withdraw any further assistance and leave millions of men, women, and children destitute in the middle of winter. I believe the American people want to see our Nation do its part in relieving the suffering and distress in war-ravaged countries and to assist them to get on their own feet as soon as possible.

We, therefore, favor the objective of H. R. 4649, authorizing an additional appropriation of \$1,350,000,000 to UNRRA as our contribution to enable this international organization to complete this relief program.

This would be in the nature of an authorization or pledge of funds. The appropriations actually made by our Government would be determined later by the Appropriations Committee and Congress in the light of subsequent needs as they develop. Thus Congress will have the opportunity to determine the actual contributions which may be required from time to time until this program is completed. If conditions should improve unexpectedly and the needs for additional funds should prove less than anticipated at this time, Congress can revise its actual appropriations accordingly.

It is our understanding that the nations participating in the UNRRA organization have agreed that its activities will terminate in Europe not later than December 31, 1946, and in China not later than 1947.

While UNRRA has made many mistakes and there has been much dissatisfaction with its administration, it would appear too late now to attempt to establish a new agency in its place. The present organization was created as a result of the cooperative action of the United Nations, and a total of 47 nations are actively participating in this set-up, and 31 which were invaded are providing supplies and funds for the relief operations. In other words, it is a going concern and is already at work on the job. If this set-up were to be scrapped and a new international agreement had to be negotiated and a new organization had to be set up, much time would be lost and perhaps many thousands of lives of distressed people would be lost in the process, as the winter season is already at hand.

We urge, however, that our Government use its influence in every appropriate manner to bring about improvements in the administration of UNRRA to see to it that relief extended through UNRRA is not used by any government for political purposes; that such relief be extended on a basis of justifiable need without discrimination; that in extending such relief, emphasis be placed upon helping people to help themselves as far as possible; and that each country should assume responsibility for taking care of its own people as soon as possible.

With respect to the contribution of the United States, we believe use should be made, as far as possible, of agricultural commodities which are in surplus supply. Due consideration, of course, must be given to the requirements of a properly balanced diet. We are likely to have surpluses of a number of important food commodities in the United States next year, and it is just common sense to make the maximum use of these surpluses to relieve distress and destitution. We therefore recommend the inclusion in H. R. 4649 of the same requirement which was included in the UNRRA appropriation in H. J. Res. 266, which reads as follows:

"Provided further, That, insofar as possible and practicable, agricultural commodities determined by the Secretary of Agriculture to be in surplus supply shall be utilized in filling United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration requisitions for food and agricultural commodities."

Hoping that these recommendations will meet with the approval of your committee, I am

Sincerely yours,

EDW. A. O'NEAL, *President.*

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I yield the remainder of the time to the gentleman from California [Mr. VOORHIS].

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from California is recognized for 3 minutes.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Speaker, this bill carries a lot of money. It is my opinion that it must. It is America's effort to meet a destitution and need such as through the centuries the world has scarcely ever known before. Out of this war there has come only one important Nation in all the world that was not bombed or invaded. That Nation is our own. Deeply as America has suffered from the loss of the lives of her sons, and willingly as our people have worked to bring victory, we find ourselves today immeasurably better off economically than all the rest of mankind.

Furthermore, the world needs, above all things, to follow American leadership toward a better world of true freedom and hope for all mankind.

Democracy is the child of hope. Dictatorship is the product of despair, hunger, and starvation. No blow that could be struck by this Nation in the cause of democracy and freedom is as important right now as the getting of food to the needy and hungry people of the world.

Not long ago a report was issued by the Postwar Policy and Planning Committee, which I signed and helped to prepare. In that report our committee laid down certain requirements which we said ought to be met by other nations, by Russia, for example, before any money is loaned to those nations by the United States in the future. I do not have time to account what those different stipulations were, but I will say I am in agreement with them as to loans and similar economic measures. But here in this

bill we confront a different and far more insistent problem—that of helping to provide the minimum necessary food for people who need it not only today or tomorrow, and through this winter and the coming spring, but who needed it 2 months ago. There is need also in countries which are not served by UNRRA. It should be made possible for private organizations to bring relief to the starving people of Germany. There should be efforts by both our Government and private agencies to help the people of the western European democracies, like France and Holland. But the greatest need of all can be met and must be met by the measure which is before the House today. I do not believe anyone can conscientiously oppose it, and I doubt that more than a handful of Members will do so.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from California has expired.

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks at this point in the Record and include certain quotations and letters.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, when UNRRA was up for consideration the first time, I made some predictions with reference to the approach to the problem of feeding and clothing the destitute millions of men, women, and children in war-torn Europe and Asia. I realized then as I do now that there already existed and had existed for many generations organizations here and abroad trained in the distribution of food, clothes, medicine, to the victims of war, flood, or famine, wherever any one or all of these afflictions visit mankind. Is it not the money of American citizens which it is proposed to tax from them for the funds called for under the pending legislation? Is it too much to ask that it be administered by the Red Cross which has been operating as an angel of mercy since it was organized by Congress, January 5, 1905? This great humanitarian agency has been carrying on its program of mercy for 41 years, and not once has the integrity of those who have administered the countless millions contributed to it been questioned. For almost half a century it has sent its trained personnel to the field of every major disaster throughout the continental United States. It has distributed trainloads of food, clothing, and shelter without corruption, black markets, thievery, or graft. It is an organization loved, respected, and generously supported by countless millions. It is a member of the International Red Cross, an organization founded at Geneva, Switzerland, in 1864. The absolute confidence of the American people in the National Red Cross is too well known to require further praise or discussion. With the unblemished record of the National Red Cross, of the International Red Cross, why were these ignored as a means of administering relief, and instead UNRRA, a political and corrupt organization, set up to play power politics with human suffering and

misery? The Christian church organizations were likewise disregarded as instruments of relief.

It is known that the funds intended to feed the starving men, women, and children have in many instances been used by totalitarian nations to control the votes and even the lives of famine-stricken citizens when called upon to vote where a plebiscite has been held. To be specific, food intended for the starving victims has been sold in the black market by UNRRA agents while babies starved for need of that food. Think of the ghastly disclosure which recently came to light as late as November 29 of this year. Six hundred UNRRA employees purged for selling to black markets. Dismissals, suspensions, and arrests in three Reich zones. This amount of corruption in just two zones where UNRRA is supposed to be feeding and clothing the hungry and naked. Who disclosed this disgraceful corruption? It was Leo J. Margolin of New York, Chief of the UNRRA Information Bureau in Europe. Mr. Margolin was quoted in the Washington Star of November 29, 1945, as saying:

All were involved in black-market dealings—actually selling or being a party to selling at black-market prices foodstuffs and clothing earmarked for victims of war.

Furthermore, Mr. Margolin, according to the article in the Washington Star, to which I have referred, said that in the last 5 weeks 13 UNRRA workers had been arrested and another had been sentenced to 12 months' imprisonment during investigations in the British zone by military police and UNRRA officials.

Let me say right here that the investigation of the corruption and black-market operations of UNRRA has thus far covered only a small portion of the field in which it is operating. There has been no statement made that UNRRA would be purged of its crooks until the delay occurred in the enactment of this legislation. Something had to be done, so now, to appease public wrath, a joint statement has been issued, according to the press, by Lt. Gen. Sir Frederick A. Morgan, Chief of UNRRA operations in Germany and formerly Assistant Chief of Staff for General Eisenhower, a statement in which Sir Raphael Cilento Brisbane, Australian Director of UNRRA in the British zone, stated as follows:

We are determined to ferret out from the ranks of honest, sincere UNRRA workers members of teams who put personal profit above their trust of aiding unfortunate victims of war under our care.

There is nothing more low and despicable than stealing from these luckless people, and UNRRA intends to see that the personnel of the organization keeps faith with the 47 nations supporting UNRRA, with the armies which sponsor its work, with displaced persons in Germany, and with other displaced persons who are our charges.

Mr. Speaker, I have some responsibility to those whom I have the honor to represent. They do not expect me, I am sure, to be a party to voting these funds to a corrupt organization, even though the organization is prefaced with the word "charity" or the word "relief." It is not charity, neither is it relief, when

funds intended by generous-minded people for distressed and starving victims of war are corruptly used for other purposes. There will be no aid to masses of the suffering while the money appropriated by the United States and the other nations tolerate any agency which in the short time it has been operating already stands convicted of a violation of the sacred trust imposed upon it. At a time when nation after nation is coming here for loans and hand-outs running into billions of dollars, we owe to those whom we represent to be cautious in voting for such huge amounts, especially when we are put on notice of the improper use of the funds so appropriated.

The people I have the good fortune to represent are generous, kind, and charitable. Moreover, they are honest. I was in charge of eight States in the Red Cross campaign for the first \$100,000,000 fund in World War I. The communities in my congressional district exceeded their quotas, and they have done so ever since. I was abroad during 1917 and 1918 and I know what a glorious record the National Red Cross made in that war. Both our National Red Cross and the International Red Cross are honored and respected by all nations, and each has an unsullied record in dispensing clothing, food, medicine, and shelter and all kinds of relief. Moreover, the personnel of each of these humanitarian institutions is made up of trained, experienced, and honest men and women. There is nothing that would bring greater confidence and hope to the suffering victims of the battle-torn countries than to know that these two humanitarian agencies were to replace the graft-ridden UNRRA in handling their problems of relief. Failure to insist upon an accounting of the funds and the services rendered by UNRRA, unless insisted upon will foster distrust, ill-feeling at home, and those who are robbed of their food by black-market operations will look upon Americans as grafters and cheats.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the resolution. The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H. R. 4649) to enable the United States to further participate in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of H. R. 4649, with Mr. SPARKMAN in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

By unanimous consent, the first reading of the bill was dispensed with.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York [Mr. BLOOM] is recognized.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, the Committee on Foreign Affairs has held

very lengthy hearings on this resolution and here are just a couple of points I should like to bring to the attention of the Committee at this time because other points that go more into detail concerning UNRRA will be brought up in debate later on.

Let me say at the outset, Mr. Chairman, that the Foreign Affairs Committee has received not one—not one—communication of any kind against this bill; and further, not one request to appear before the committee in opposition to this bill. There was one witness against it who appeared before the committee at the request of one of the members of the Foreign Affairs Committee, but that request was not made directly to its chairman.

The one point that has been stressed right along, Mr. Chairman, has been the tremendous amount of money this relief is going to cost this country. It is not as much as we spent after the First World War. I believe the total amount called for in this bill amounts to only the cost of about 4 or 5 days of the war, and is equivalent to the additional amount the war would have cost had it continued for 4 or 5 days longer. The point, however, that I wish to have the Members realize and understand is that the 1 percent called for in this resolution is 1 percent of the income of the United States for the year 1943—1 percent of our income. Now, if the sum is large, \$1,350,000,000, we all should be grateful and thankful to our dear God that He made this country so prosperous that we could afford to give 1 percent out of that tremendous sum that this country has made, which equals \$1,350,000,000. That is the only way to judge this amount adequately and not talk about what we are giving. We are the only nation in the world that has really made anything substantial, the only nation in the world that has had an income, and because we have been so prosperous, because we have been so successful, Mr. Chairman, we have had this tremendous income; and we are asked to spend only 1 percent to feed and to cloth and to shelter all of the poor unfortunate people throughout the world. One percent. Some of our dear colleagues here think that is a tremendous amount to spend.

Mr. COLE of Indiana. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLOOM. No; I am sorry I cannot yield.

Mr. Chairman, there is no question but that UNRRA has made mistakes. We must, however, take into consideration the things that were happening around the world at that time. The world was upset and, Mr. Chairman, I doubt if there is any way in which one can calculate the tremendous cost to all the nations and all the people of the world, the tremendous cost of this war we have just gone through. It has been estimated by some people who have made a study of the subject that this war has cost the peoples of the world financially, not counting the misery, death, and suffering it has brought, one trillion and a half of dollars—one trillion and a half.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to read what General Eisenhower, who appeared

before the committee on Thanksgiving Day, had to say. If you will look on page 281 you will find General Eisenhower's testimony, and on page 290 you will find Monsignor Boland's testimony. Both of those gentlemen testified that the only complaints they had heard in reference to UNRRA were when they came back to this country. Read the testimony of these two gentlemen. You will take the word of General Eisenhower I know, because he certainly has no axe to grind in this matter. The opinion of General Eisenhower is especially valuable here. He said to the committee that he would have thrown up his hands in despair if he had been given the job that UNRRA faced. In answer to a question by a committee member General Eisenhower said:

If anyone had given me the job of organizing UNRRA under the conditions that existed all during that campaign, I think I would have thrown up my hands in helplessness because at that time we—

That is, the Army—
demanded everything and we got everything. That UNRRA made any progress at all I consider remarkable.

General Eisenhower summarizes UNRRA's present effort by saying:

I know from my own observation in Germany that it is operating with steadily increasing effectiveness.

Mr. Chairman, during the course of the debate on this bill I sincerely hope and trust that we will get the facts presented by both sides; and after the facts are presented to the committee, I feel satisfied that the Members will vote favorably on this resolution.

Miss SUMNER of Illinois. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLOOM. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Miss SUMNER of Illinois. Is it not true that UNRRA's job in Germany only consists in taking care of displaced persons and that Mr. Clayton testified on page 8 of the hearings that the Army did do a phenomenal job of taking care of displaced persons at the rate of a million a month?

Mr. BLOOM. Yes.

Miss SUMNER of Illinois. That seems inconsistent with General Eisenhower's statement that he could not do it or that he knew anything about UNRRA in Germany.

Mr. BLOOM. He was in Germany. He said from his observations in Germany.

Miss SUMNER of Illinois. But UNRRA is not feeding people there.

Mr. BLOOM. I did not say that, General Eisenhower did not say that; the gentleman herself said that.

Miss SUMNER of Illinois. Does the gentleman say that UNRRA does feed people in Germany?

Mr. BLOOM. It takes care of displaced persons in Germany.

Mr. STEFAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLOOM. I yield to the gentleman from Nebraska.

Mr. STEFAN. I wanted to ask the gentleman practically the same question. I believe the chairman of the

Committee on Foreign Affairs should clarify what UNRRA really is doing in Germany.

Mr. BLOOM. It only handles displaced persons.

Mr. STEFAN. I think that is the answer.

Mr. BLOOM. Yes.

Mr. SCHWABE of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLOOM. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. SCHWABE of Missouri. How long will existing funds that we have already voted last? Will that see them through the winter?

Mr. BLOOM. No. This \$550,000,000 that the House appropriated the other day, now before the Senate, will last, if they get the appropriation now, until the first of January. They will have it all spent between now and the first of January, and I refer to the \$550,000,000; not the authorization in the present bill. To process that much goods, food, and material and get it over there requires time. Even then, these supplies will last only until around the middle of February. So if the Senate today should approve that appropriation for \$550,000,000 and the bill should become law on Friday, then they will start to spend it. They have to get the merchandise and they have to get it over there. This is most important. If they do not get this authorization for the additional \$1,350,000,000 and the appropriation through by the first of the year, UNRRA will have to practically cease operations, because there will be a serious lapse between the amount that they are receiving now, the \$550,000,000, and this amount, and they cannot buy any more goods until the appropriation is made. So, therefore, from now until February, and after that, they will have nothing more to feed the people in Europe with.

Mr. SCHWABE of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will yield further, has the job been bigger than we originally contemplated? Have the existing funds lasted as long as we expected them to last?

Mr. BLOOM. When you say "lasted as long as," you must remember that if the war was still on the funds would last longer, for the simple reason that relief could not be made available in many countries; I mean we did not know—that is, UNRRA did not know, and no one knew—when the war was going to be over. They could not operate in the occupied countries of our allies until they were liberated and invited to come in there by the Army or until the Army had gone out. It is only then that they can go in and operate. Now, as to how long the money was going to last, nobody could tell until we knew what the situation was. No one knew what the situation was in any of these countries until we entered them. I will say this: That UNRRA started to operate as soon as they could get in there, and naturally this amount that we are asking for now is to bring them through this coming year of 1946 up to harvest time, so as to put these countries back on their feet and make them self-sustaining, and

then, with China, relief is to go on for 3 months in 1947.

Mr. SCHWABE of Missouri. I understood the gentleman to say that the existing funds would probably last until about the middle of March.

Mr. BLOOM. No; I did not say anything of the kind. Is the gentleman talking about the \$550,000,000?

Mr. SCHWABE of Missouri. Yes.

Mr. BLOOM. That will last about a week from the time they get it, but the material that they buy for that \$550,000,000, before it gets over there and is distributed, will be some time around February or March.

Mr. ROE of Maryland. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLOOM. I yield to the gentleman from Maryland.

Mr. ROE of Maryland. As I understand, the gentleman explained that the \$550,000,000 that we have already voted will last, if they get hold of it right away, until about the middle of March.

Mr. BLOOM. Yes; or February.

Mr. ROE of Maryland. How long did the gentleman say the \$1,350,000,000 that we are appropriating now will last?

Mr. BLOOM. I said it will last until the beginning of the coming harvest, fall. That is all they expect it to last, and for the first 3 months of 1947 in China.

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLOOM. I yield to the gentleman from Alabama.

Mr. JARMAN. I think the chairman misunderstood the gentleman's question. As I understood his question it was how long would the \$550,000,000 last.

Mr. ROE of Maryland. That was about the middle of March.

Mr. BLOOM. Yes.

Mr. ROE of Maryland. What I want to know is how long the appropriation we are about to make today, the \$1,350,000,000, will last.

Mr. BLOOM. Until the coming harvest. We expect to be out of Europe by that time.

Mr. ROE of Maryland. It is my opinion that it would not need as much money in the warm months as in the cold months, if the present amount of \$550,000,000 is going to last until the middle of March.

Mr. BLOOM. If they cannot use it they will not use it, but the gentleman sees the position we are in today because we do not have it.

Mr. ROE of Maryland. Does the gentleman expect that further appropriation will be needed?

Mr. BLOOM. No; I do not expect that. Nobody has ever said it.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLOOM. I yield to the gentleman from Kentucky.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. How many nations have joined in this agreement to give 1 percent of their incomes as of 1943?

Mr. BLOOM. The full list appears on page 2 of the report of the House Committee on Appropriations on House Joint Resolution 266.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. I would like to have that report to study it a little bit.

Mr. BLOOM. The gentleman is welcome to this copy I have here.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. Our income for 1943 was estimated at \$135,000,000,000, and this authorization is 1 percent of that amount?

Mr. BLOOM. Yes.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. I may have misunderstood the gentleman, but did I correctly understand him to say that no country had an income for that year except our country?

Mr. BLOOM. No; I did not.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. All the countries that signed this agreement had incomes then, did they not, more or less?

Mr. BLOOM. Yes; but the gentleman must remember that many of the countries, such as Holland, were at war and had been invaded.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. Yes, I understand that. Have all of the countries taken steps to authorize or appropriate the money they signed up in the first instance, as we did?

Mr. BLOOM. Yes. The gentleman refers to the previous bill?

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. Yes.

Mr. BLOOM. Yes.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. Have they all paid in their contributions?

Mr. BLOOM. Yes. All the countries, even Russia, an invaded country, have contributed to the running expenses and the upkeep of UNRRA.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. I have seen reports contrary to that statement, emphasizing that only a few of the countries that signed the agreement have met their obligations.

Mr. BLOOM. I think we are the only one that has not. I am pretty sure that we are the only one up to the present time of those in the 1-percent group that has not met its obligations.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. There is a great deal of question about these funds not getting to Poland and to the Polish people, who are needy, and who are included in our gifts, I suppose they could be called.

Mr. BLOOM. No one has made any complaint to the committee or asked to appear or written a letter to say that anything of the kind has ever happened.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. I suppose the gentleman has seen quite a lot in the press to the effect that the Russian soldiers have intercepted the relief and it has not reached the Polish people.

Mr. BLOOM. Things have been intercepted from the Army and have been intercepted from the Navy all over the world. Wherever the Army and Navy and our people have gone things have been intercepted, and the black market has gone along with it. Do not blame it all on UNRRA, and do not blame it on the Army or the Navy.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. If we make this additional gift for relief, have we any means now of controlling that situation so that the needy Polish people will get what is coming to them and what we want them to get?

Mr. BLOOM. That is right. I am for it. My parents were Polish, so I am in

favor of giving Poland or any other country what is coming to them.

As to the question the gentleman asked with reference to Poland, on page 9 of the report, in the fourth paragraph, the gentleman will find a full report on Poland and what is going on there and what they are getting.

Mr. ROBSION of Kentucky. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. SCHWABE of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLOOM. I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

Mr. SCHWABE of Missouri. I have heard it said that the Russian Armies have a policy of living off the land, and that they are moving very slowly and gradually back and forth from Russia to Germany through Poland and that a lot of the goods we are sending to Poland actually is reaching the Russian Army. Has the gentleman's committee had any word on that?

Mr. BLOOM. If the gentleman wants to investigate or have arguments on all the reports that have been heard, he would not get home for Christmas, or maybe for the Christmas of 1946, either. Why did not someone come before our committee and tell us something he knew, not what he heard? No one even asked to come. Oh, you heard about a lot of complaints. I heard somebody that heard so-and-so and did so-and-so, but there is no proof; not one word of proof.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself such time as I may require.

Mr. Chairman, when this international organization known as UNRRA was first conceived here, I was greatly impressed by it and supported it. It was our first attempt in this new era of the world to enter upon a great enterprise of constructive and united service. We did not understand then, of course, just what terrible abyss the world was falling into of moral and intellectual ruin and confusion.

I worked hard for and voted for the original appropriation for UNRRA. The \$550,000,000 that has been appropriated is a moral obligation, in my judgment, from which there is absolutely no possible or honorable escape for this Nation. We are now asking for the authorization of an appropriation of \$1,350,000,000 more. Together, these two appropriations would amount to about \$100 per family in this Nation or \$20 for each man, woman, and child. Now, that is an enormous gift to make under present conditions. When this appropriation was asked for at first, I was confronted, as I know you are and every thoughtful man or woman must be, with the terrific challenge of facts that confront us. We have a debt which will be a millstone around the neck of enterprise and the economic life of this Nation for generations to come. We are in a world of flux and confusion and antagonism out of which we must emerge in time, but that does mean a long time of terrific testing of our moral and intellectual resources.

Thus, I was very troubled as to my duty with reference to this second appropriation. But, perhaps because of certain training that I had in years gone by, I fell back upon my usual approach to

every public problem—the moral approach. Here we are the most prosperous Nation the world has ever known. But we are characterized by one aspect of our character that delights me and fills me with pride and gratitude, that is the sense of responsibility among all classes of our people toward suffering wherever it may occur. Down through the years, our people stood out among all the peoples of the world in their philanthropic self-sacrifice to alleviate human suffering either here or abroad. So today I approach this problem from the point of view of the moral attitude that is normal to our people and has been from the very beginning of our history. That moral sense of obligation to suffering is what drives our people at this time to assume this tremendous new burden amidst all the burdens that are being laid upon our backs at this hour.

There is another aspect, from the moral point of view, and that is our responsibility not only to these suffering millions but to ourselves. We did not create this horror abroad. We are not responsible for the existence of these starving millions or these desolated homes or these ruined cities, or a world broken to its foundations. We are not responsible for that. That was the work of a monstrous failure, morally, spiritually, and mentally, on the part of one or two of the great races of this world. We had to go in and win a war against that, and there is the result of it, and it will continue to be there; and we now have the moral responsibility to ourselves, because, if these starving millions are permitted to go over the precipice, are permitted to go on to the inevitable end of starvation, ruin, and revolution, there is no doubt in the world that there will come rolling back upon us waves of unrest, difficulty, and darkness which may lead us immediately into a third world war. So, we have to take our responsibility, in face of this condition, to ourselves. I believe if we are true to ourselves we will have to appropriate this money for these purposes.

Personally, I think this is all that ever ought to be done. I do not now see how we ever ought to try to do any more. If we cannot finish this job with this money, I dislike to prejudice the future, but I would find it very difficult to advocate another such appropriation.

Now, before I sit down, I want to say one word about this freedom-of-the-press thing. I was told with this amendment was offered that we could not hitch freedom of the press with starvation. That did not impress me. I thought it was a rather tricky answer. But I want to have my position absolutely clear. We are putting up 72 percent of this money. It is a free gift out of the toil and sweat and love of our people—140,000,000 of us. We are entitled to know how that money is administered, where it goes, and what it does. But, through our long history we have had one instrument of information upon which we have depended absolutely to lead us into the light concerning these great abstruse problems. That is the public press. Upon that foundation I take my stand, whether you have an amendment or not, that the UNRRA organization as it administers this fund,

to the end of the last dollar, ought to have with it the representatives of the American press, to tell us every day what is going on and where the money is going. Our people are entitled to it. It is a moral obligation in this hour that we have that information. You can hitch it into an amendment or any way you like. Personally, I would like to see it in the form of instructions to the UNRRA organization that that be done.

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. EATON. I yield.

Mr. REED of New York. That is particularly true in light of the black-market operations which have been disclosed.

Mr. EATON. There is no doubt that the black-market operations are one pimple in the general infection of moral decay in the world.

Mr. REED of New York. Apparently there are 600 of those black-market operators who have been rounded up. You could shorten that word "pimple."

Mr. BARRETT of Wyoming. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. EATON. I yield.

Mr. BARRETT of Wyoming. Was it originally understood we would contribute 72 percent of all the money?

Mr. EATON. One percent of our total national income in the year 1943.

Mr. BARRETT of Wyoming. I understand that, but, computed on that basis, would that make our contribution 72 percent of the whole.

Mr. EATON. Yes.

Mr. BARRETT of Wyoming. And the other nations that were to contribute the other 28 percent have done so?

Mr. EATON. Yes; up to date. We are a half billion behind, but we will catch up if we do our duty here.

Miss SUMNER of Illinois. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. EATON. I yield.

Miss SUMNER of Illinois. Did your committee make any investigation at all with respect to the setting up of an organization such as they had after the last war? I talked with a representative of that last organization in Russia, and it seemed to me that an organization like that could be set up almost overnight, and employ a lot of American veterans.

Mr. EATON. I do not believe our committee made any very serious study of that question. Having one organization now, to add another one would be like hitching up a horse and an ass together, which is contrary to the Scriptures.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Does it not seem to the gentleman that there should be some system of inspection by some organization other than UNRRA? UNRRA to date has been observing itself according to answers made by Governor Lehman to me. It seems essential that we should have some sort of independent agency or some other section of the State Department inspecting the work of UNRRA. I think some of these things would have been prevented had that been done, that much of the dishonesty would have been prevented. UNRRA is not going to tell on itself.

Mr. EATON. The gentlewoman has in mind something in the nature of an in-

dependent auditing organization. I prefer to put the keen-minded newspapermen on the job.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Why not have the newspapermen who aid the intelligence officers and they aid the newspapermen?

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. EATON. I yield.

Mr. BLOOM. Will the gentleman kindly ask the lady whether she will vote for this resolution if that is done the way she wants it?

Mr. EATON. The gentlewoman from Massachusetts has heard the question. Does she care to answer?

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. I will vote for the resolution if certain other amendments are adopted.

Mr. BLOOM. A conditional commitment.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, if this intercommittee war is over, I will retire.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield 20 minutes to the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. JARMAN].

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Chairman, reference has been made to the greatness of this country and its success. It occurred to me as I heard those references that perhaps one of the reasons for its success and greatness is to be found in the fact that it is simply natural for the humane people we are in America to invariably look with favor upon and generously answer the pleas of suffering humanity. The first evidence of that I witnessed was back in my little town of Livingston in Alabama, when some good citizen would commence and circulate a subscription list when there was a widow and orphans who needed food, taking up a collection for them. Or, perhaps some man without this world's goods would fall ill or become injured and they would take up a collection for him. Or perhaps a transient in our midst would suffer some calamity and the same would be done for him. Then came the Community Chest and other similar organizations which did that humanitarian work in a concerted, combined way. Then came World War I and the Hoover relief thereafter, which did a great job, which in its size, however, was small, very small compared to the one which confronts the world today. However, the United States defrayed the entire expense. Incidentally, that relief cost this country approximately \$2,600,000,000, which is the total amount which will have been subscribed to UNRRA by this country with the passage of this legislation and an appropriation to cover it.

The difference being that at that time the amount was 4 percent of the national income of our country, whereas now it is 2 percent of that national income because of this success and progress we have had and made in the meantime. In other words, from that angle the contribution will have been just half of what it was last time. A far vaster relief job will have been accomplished but all of the United Nations will have participated in the expense in accordance with their ability. Not only will the United States not foot the entire bill as it did before, but the participation of the other countries can but be quite productive in the

realization of their peoples of international responsibility.

Between the wars there was concerted action for relief by the people of America, for Finland, China, Greece, Japan after the earthquake, and for various other peoples of the world who suffered. In other words, it is just natural for the American people to answer these pleas, and I repeat, this fact is one of the reasons for our greatness and our success.

Then came the recent war. The Hoover relief commenced after the last war, or perhaps it entered Belgium before the armistice. But this war came on. The leaders of this country and others foresaw that the relief would be so much greater than before that this organization, UNRRA, was born. It was born by the invitation of this country to all the others of the United Nations to send a delegate or delegates to Washington, and later to Atlantic City, to participate in its organization. But before that invitation was extended the proposal was fully explained to the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House and the Committee on Foreign Relations of the Senate. Changes were suggested and made.

On November 9, 1943, the representatives of these 44 nations met and signed this agreement at the White House, then proceeded the next day to Atlantic City, where the details were worked out. Our present Under Secretary of State, Dean Acheson, incidentally, presided over that meeting. It was agreed at that meeting, not by the United States alone, but by those 44 nations, that this organization would commence with a contribution of 1 percent of the national income of those 44 nations for the year ending June 30, 1943.

What has happened since? A gentleman indulged the suggestion a moment ago that only a few of those countries have contributed. The fact is that the entire 1 percent of the national income of those United Nations has been contributed, except, I believe, about \$560,000,000. And who owes most of that? This great, prosperous United States of ours, this country we so love and revere, the richest and most prosperous of them all, owes \$550,000,000 of the \$580,000,000. Of course, that will be remedied, I hope today, in the other body. But that is the situation as of this moment.

UNRRA under that agreement proceeded with its humane work. Having heard all of the testimony at that time, having heard practically all of the testimony relative to the present bill, having visited many parts of the world on two different trips last summer, one of which had for its main purpose ascertaining what we should do about UNRRA, having attended numerous sessions of the Council meeting in London last July; with the information I so gained, I unhesitatingly express to you the opinion, despite the criticism you have heard—and criticism occurs of any great, big undertaking, you know that—but despite that criticism, UNRRA has done a great job, UNRRA has accomplished much, UNRRA has saved thousands, if not millions, of lives.

As an illustration of the magnitude of its work and how it is accelerating now,

on March 31 of this year it had only shipped 37,000 long tons of supplies to Europe, whereas in July of this year alone 296,500 tons were shipped, in August, 318,837 tons; in September, 418,167 tons, and we have now reached the period when about a million tons a month are going to suffering humanity in other lands. It has made mistakes. Yes, it has made mistakes. What organization has not made mistakes? I tell you that those mistakes have been just as greatly magnified and exaggerated in my opinion, as any mistakes about which I have ever heard. The Army has made mistakes. All armies make mistakes in the very nature of things. The difference is that the mistakes of our Army cost American lives whereas whatever lives, if any, have been sacrificed by the mistakes of UNRRA were not those of Americans.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JARMAN. I gladly yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. The gentleman has heard practically all of the hearings, of course. Is it the gentleman's opinion that as a matter of self-interest it is to our advantage to invest these funds to take care of the situation in Europe and prevent bloodshed and strife and revolution, and what not, despite the faults that have been pointed out here in Congress and other places?

Mr. JARMAN. There is no shadow of a doubt about that. Furthermore, regardless of our moral obligation, regardless of the obligation resulting from the signing of the UNRRA agreement and the approval thereof by this Congress, regardless of all our other obligations in the premises, if we waive them all aside and forget them for a moment, from a purely selfish business standpoint it is good business for the United States to indulge in this additional contribution to UNRRA. Yes; mistakes were made, but let us not permit the trees to hide the forest. As we refer to those mistakes and criticize them, let us also think at least a few of the many good things UNRRA has done. Time, of course, is not available for me to go into detail about them, but I do want to indulge in one or two quotations from General Eisenhower.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for an observation?

Mr. JARMAN. Gladly.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. I want to thank the gentleman for his fine statement, because it agrees with my views after having visited Palestine and a great part of Europe last summer.

Mr. JARMAN. I thank the gentleman for his concurrence. I am not at all surprised that he feels that way, because any conscientious man who is not a professional carping critic constantly in search of faults, who will make the trip the gentleman made, cannot refrain from reaching that conclusion. Unfortunately many have not seen it as the gentleman and I have, and some permit the trees to obscure the forest.

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JARMAN. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. Can the gentleman point to abuses in connection with the administration of relief following World War I in any way comparable to the abuses that have been uncovered in connection with the present relief administration?

Mr. JARMAN. I cannot, because at that time I was a soldier over there, and neither while I was over there nor after I returned did I look for abuses. I have not spent my entire time looking for them now, and therefore I have no comparison.

Quoting from General Eisenhower:

I know from my own observation in Germany that it—

That is, UNRRA—

is operating with steadily increasing effectiveness.

Another quote from him to which the chairman has already referred but which I want to emphasize:

I should say this, if anyone had given me the job of organizing UNRRA under the conditions that existed all during that campaign—

That is, the war—

I think I would have thrown up my hands in helplessness because at that time we demanded everything and we got everything. We had to get the job done and it was a discouraging thing. That they made any progress at all I consider remarkable and I guarantee that they are improving steadily.

Just as the Army under the able leadership of that great soldier, General Eisenhower, had to get the job done, it is similarly necessary for someone, and UNRRA is the only feasible organization to do it, to get this aftermath job of the war done. I quote further from General Eisenhower:

Now that the fighting has ceased and the danger is less obvious, it is perhaps difficult for people in this country to visualize the desperate needs of the people of Europe and the necessity, if our military victory is to have lasting significance, of our successfully completing the job of making possible a peaceful world.

I am fully confident that the people of Europe can recover from the grievous blows they have suffered if they can be helped through this period. However * * * we in the United States * * * must be prepared to discharge a very heavy responsibility. We must, now, make our proportionate contribution to the relief of Europe in order to insure the permanence of our military victory.

Of course, the war was not concluded as speedily as we had hoped. There was much more devastation than anybody could conceive of at the time of that UNRRA council meeting back yonder in Atlantic City, because we based our calculations on the last war, which came abruptly to a conclusion with the armistice. So the time when the funds would be exhausted approached. Came the meeting of the UNRRA council in London last July.

The representative of the United States on that council, Assistant Secretary of State Clayton, proposed that another 1 percent of the national income, of the year ending June 30, 1945, be contributed by each nation. The council

readily agreed, and it is as a result of that agreement of the council that this legislation is here. I heard Assistant Secretary Clayton make the statement that he could not speak for the Congress and could not guarantee it but would recommend the additional contribution. I heard the United Kingdom member assure the council that his country's second contribution would occur. It has, as has that of Peru. Doubtless those of numerous other nations will be rapidly forthcoming.

Did the United States err up to this point in entering this organization? Have we made a mistake in doing so? Should we have remained out? Or did we have the responsibility that I believe was ours to go into it? Have we any responsibility that has occurred since that time in the premises?

While my dear and charming friend, of whom I am especially fond, the gentleman from New Jersey, Dr. EATON, is eminently correct in stating that in the final analysis those criminals who are being tried in Germany and those who will be tried in Japan are really responsible for all of this destruction, I cannot refrain from calling attention to the fact that directly the German Army did not cause all of the destruction in Normandy, for instance. It was necessary for our Army to destroy many farms, many houses, many roads, and many railroads in order to drive the Germans back across France into Germany.

Similarly, neither the Italian nor the German Army is directly responsible for the destruction of Cassino and those farms and orchards thereabouts. On the other hand, their stubborn resistance made it necessary for the Allied army to indulge in much of that destruction. Of course, it was absolutely necessary and unavoidable, but the fact remains that our Army was compelled to do much of it.

That walled city in Manila stands out in my mind as the most tragic illustration of that in the world—that walled city which was one of the famous places of the Orient. There is not a habitable room in it now. By retiring there for their last stand the Japs made General MacArthur do what they knew he hated most to do—destroy that city. As they destroyed that city they necessarily destroyed farms and fruit trees and other possibilities of producing food for the people.

Furthermore, did we not encourage the underground in the Philippines, for instance, and in Italy, and in all the invaded countries? Did we not encourage them to sabotage every effort of the Germans and destroy their roads and railroads as well as their crops? Do we not have some responsibility for the fact that they scorched the earth in such magnificent fashion as to greatly hasten the end of the war? But, as my distinguished friend mentioned a moment ago, waving all of that aside, and considering one who is unable to realize any of those responsibilities, I would say to him as I said to the gentleman from California, that from a strictly business standpoint, it is good policy for us to do our part and not fall down on an organization which

we started and urged other countries to join. If for no other reason, let us dwell momentarily on this one, particularly now with the atomic bomb. Every one of you knows as well as I do that civilization simply cannot survive another war. I am one of those who confidently believe that another can be avoided. I am equally confident that this is impossible without international understanding, good will, and cooperation. Yes, I am quite hopeful that the United Nations Organization, to which I believe the other body subscribed without strings yesterday, will succeed in eliminating war in the future. Toward that end it behooves all nations, and certainly this leading one of the world, to contribute everything possible. Therefore, from a psychological standpoint alone the United States simply cannot afford to withdraw support from this first unified activity.

Assuming that I am correct in the opinions that the dire need exists and that meeting it is our responsibility, along with that of the other United Nations, what is the alternative to doing it through UNRRA? While the Army did a magnificent job of relief immediately after it entered conquered countries and is doing so today in Germany, general relief is certainly not the Army's job, nor would the people of the United States stand for its members effecting it. The Red Cross has been suggested, and some have suggested an entirely new organization. When one realizes, however, that speed is of the essence, he understands the ridiculousness of either of these suggestions, particularly if he is familiar with the Red Cross and its functions. With reference to the necessity for immediate action, permit me to quote the director general of UNRRA:

Mr. Acheson and Mr. Clayton have already presented the reasons for the proposed legislation. In simple terms, they are that UNRRA's total financial resources under its first authorization are virtually used up, but its job is only half finished.

I cannot exaggerate the urgency of the situation.

We are completely broke at the present time and we just cannot, out of the funds that are now available, make any additional purchases from American funds.

Even with this \$550,000,000 our January and February operations, to say nothing of the period beyond, will be seriously curtailed and shipments will have to stop completely in the very early part of the new year unless we get both the authorization and the appropriation contemplated by this resolution by the end of December. Every day's delay in appropriating this money slows our operations, at the very time when they should be accelerating. It means less value for every dollar spent.

Now, since speed is of the essence, it is difficult to understand the apparent widespread desire to slow up our contribution by retarding, damaging, unnecessary amendments. Of course, I can thoroughly understand the interest of those who are opposed to this legislation in such amendments, who I think should vote against the bill, but it is difficult indeed for me to appreciate the position of one who pretends approval and support of the carrying out of this obligation by our country and at the same time proposes dangerous, delaying amendments. Do not misunderstand me to be-

lieve that all of the proponents of these amendments are insincere, because I am sure such is not the case. I simply do not understand the reasoning of those who are really interested in the success of this endeavor.

The displaced Pole, the Chinese coolie, the Philippine guerrilla will suffer just as much and be equally dead if his starvation results from delaying amendments to this legislation, no matter how high sounding may be their purpose, as if he had starved as a result of our failure to participate in this worth-while endeavor at all, or our failure to continue such participation by defeating this legislation. Yes, the Greek peasant who needs a few seeds to plant early next spring in order to put himself on a self-sustaining basis next fall will be just as hungry then and just as much a public charge if his failure to receive those seeds results from delaying amendments as he would should it result from our failure to pass the bill at all. I might add that none of these can eat freedom of the press, nor do any of them exert great influence on whether or not it exists in their country.

Every single witness opposed the so-called free press and other amendments except one who largely based his opposition to the bill in its entirety on his conviction that nationals of different countries cannot cooperate and who offered nothing as a substitute. He was neither for nor against amendments because he was against the bill in its entirety.

I wish to heartily congratulate the distinguished gentleman from New Hampshire [Mr. ADAMS], who voted for this so-called free-press amendment before and stated on the floor on November 26:

I believe the people of this country today would vote overwhelmingly to provide our share of the funds immediately needed for UNRRA. * * * From reliable information it is clear that right now our failure to provide our share of the funds for this United Nations organization is costing untold human life.

Although I am one of those who voted for the free-press amendment and believe in the principles for which it stood, the result has been delaying.

Of course, every Member of this House agrees with freedom of the press but I repeat, these suffering people, many of whom will probably die because of the delay which will be caused by this amendment if passed, cannot eat freedom of the press.

Pursuant to authority heretofore granted by the House, I quote herewith an editorial from this morning's Washington Post on this subject:

NO TIME FOR POLITICS

Europe's children are unlikely to read the pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD to learn the loftiness of intent with which some Members of Congress espouse the principle of freedom of the press. But they will know about that espousal all the same. They will know about it, if it should prevail when the House of Representatives acts tomorrow on the UNRRA authorization bill, through the twisting pain of hunger and disease which the great principle will inflict upon their infant bodies. They will know; and we at home will have won the dubious right to read about their agony.

These children of Europe, liberated by our armies and by the armies of our allies, desperately need the \$1,350,000,000 contribution from the United States which UNRRA is now asking Congress to authorize. They need this contribution because UNRRA's funds, including even the \$550,000,000 appropriation still awaiting final congressional approval, will be exhausted by the end of this year. If UNRRA's flow of supplies to the needy is to continue without interruption, the new contribution must be authorized, and an adequate appropriation of money must be made before the first of the year—indeed, before Congress goes into recess, as it plans, for a Christmas holiday. UNRRA must have these fresh funds if it is to place orders for food and other supplies to be delivered throughout the hard winter that lies ahead.

The House Foreign Affairs Committee has recommended passage of the UNRRA authorization bill—without the attachment of any shackling amendments. But the bloc of Republican Congressmen who tried to tie their so-called free press rider onto the \$550,000,000 appropriation now threaten to do the same in connection with the new authorization. This rider would prohibit the use of American funds in any country which maintained any barriers to free reporting by American newspapermen. It is, as we have said before, a provision which is administratively altogether unworkable. And what is worse, it would impose a special condition upon our participation in an international undertaking—a political condition to which the recipient nations could not in self-respect accede and which would invite the 46 other participating nations to impose all sorts of crippling special conditions of their own.

The effect of this amendment, if it prevailed, let us make no mistake about it, would be to prevent the delivery of relief to the people who need it most. Even an unsuccessful attempt to attach this amendment to the bill could have disastrous consequences. For the amendment must be fought; and if it should delay the granting of funds to UNRRA beyond the first of the year, it would be paid for in suffering and in human life. The Republicans who choose to make a party issue out of this spurious defense of press freedom will be engaged in the ugliest form of politics. Democrats who support them will share in the contempt which Americans cannot fail to feel for so heartless an action. None of us, in or out of Congress, will be able to find much cheer in the Christmas season if we default in our responsibilities to our fellow human beings overseas.

One more thought, the passage of this resolution will by no means really cost the United States the amount authorized because of the fact that a large amount of the supplies will be furnished in the form of surplus Army property now in the countries involved. Would it be better for this surplus property to be junked in those countries or sold for practically nothing, for it to be expensively transported back to this country and junked, or sold for a song, or for it to provide a large part of the contribution authorized by this legislation? In this connection I quote Assistant Secretary Clayton:

We expect that a very substantial part of that \$550,000,000 (which I hope the other body will appropriate today) and the \$1,350,000,000 (authorized by this bill), or a total of \$1,900,000,000, will really be the contribution to UNRRA by the United States of surplus materials and property abroad for which we would otherwise get very little real cash.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Alabama has expired.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 20 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. JONKMAN], a member of the committee.

Mr. JONKMAN. Mr. Chairman, there was one observation made by the gentleman from Alabama, who preceded me, which I think was very important. He told us after the First World War this relief job cost us \$2,600,000,000, and represented 4 percent of our income at that time, while in the present instance it will cost us \$2,700,000,000, and will represent only 2 percent of our income. That seems very plausible and a good salesmanship argument. But it must be remembered that after the last war we had a picayune debt of \$26,000,000,000, while at the present time we have a debt running all the way from \$262,000,000,000 to \$300,000,000,000. I do not think anybody knows just how much it is. It must be further borne in mind that in 1921, after the war, that 4 percent of our income was based on real income, while in this instance it is based upon our income in 1943, which was a war year, when half of our production was for war purposes and half of our income was for war purposes and not real income.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JONKMAN. I am very glad to yield.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Comparing the needs at the end of the last war and the previous war, the gentleman will admit, will he not, that the damage which was done and the suffering which was inflicted was far greater because so many more countries were involved in this last war?

Mr. JONKMAN. May I say to the gentleman I was not addressing myself to that proposition.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. I thought that would be involved.

Mr. JONKMAN. I was speaking with reference to the relative amount of our contribution. I say that you should have both sides of the question in order to have a true picture.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. I was calling the attention of the gentleman to the fact that the need is greater now.

Mr. JONKMAN. That is too often the mistake we make. We take one side of the picture and give it to the public, and the public does not get the other side of the picture. I want them to have both sides.

Mr. Chairman, it seems to me that it may safely be said that the American people as a whole are in sympathy with the humane, noble, and helpful ideals and objectives which form the basis of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. It will cost them only \$1 out of every \$100 of their income per year. Through this contribution it is probable that they will not only save many persons from death by starvation, but also alleviate the pangs of hunger and the undermining influence of malnutrition to literally millions of people.

However, I believe that they also want every dollar they contribute to effect the greatest possible relief among these people of the invaded and liberated na-

tions. They have a right to expect this from UNRRA.

While UNRRA has had a difficult task, I believe that Members of Congress are justified in their dissatisfaction with the disappointment and failures of UNRRA by its sponsors and administrators ever since its inception.

After its organization at Atlantic City, the sponsors of UNRRA in the United States came to Congress with the proposal that this job be done by certain of the United Nations instead of by the United States alone. We are told that to do the job would take \$2,500,000,000. Assistant Secretary Acheson of the State Department appeared before the Committee on Foreign Affairs and said, on page 262 of the hearings:

As I said before in regard to this subject, I would guess the fund will be between \$2,000,000,000 and \$2,500,000,000, and probably closer to \$2,000,000,000.

Then on page 48, Mr. Acheson said:

It is a fact that it is a very difficult thing to estimate, because we do not have the figures for other countries outside of our own as of the year ended June 30, but the best estimate we can make at the present time is that our national income will be about \$135,000,000,000 for the year just ending and that the income of the whole area, all the areas including our own, would be somewhere in the neighborhood of \$230,000,000,000.

In other words, that would make a total contribution of \$2,300,000,000, of which our share would be \$1,350,000,000. Thus we would be contributing 60 percent of the fund while all the other nations together would be contributing 40 percent of the fund.

Instead of that it has turned out that while we are contributing the full amount of our quota, all the other nations together have contributed only \$485,000,000, or just about one-half the amount anticipated, while we, of course, are bound and held for the full \$1,350,000,000.

Now, I do not wish to hold Assistant Secretary Acheson responsible for this miscalculation, for I presume it would have to be largely guesswork. But the fact remains that we are now contributing 72 percent as against 28 percent of all other countries. Had this fact been known at the time there are many Congressmen who say we might better have done the job ourselves and alone, and had control of the entire distribution, over which we now have practically no control whatsoever. We could have done a much better job of alleviating human suffering.

Nor is this all. In the same hearings and on page 95, Assistant Secretary Acheson said:

Now the recommendation, as Mr. VOYTS pointed out yesterday, is for a contribution of 1 percent of 1 year's income. It is not recommended that you pay 1 percent of every year's income. It is a once-for-all contribution.

In other words, here was a definite statement that our contribution of \$1,350,000,000 would do the job. Now, there is an old adage that when you are called to give only once for a purpose, you can afford to be generous and liberal. But when you are called upon for a gift

that is to be repeated and be continuous, you must be more judicious. Undoubtedly many Members of Congress had this in mind when they voted for UNRRA at that time.

I want to be perfectly fair and say that there was a slight modification of the above unqualified statement, for Assistant Secretary Acheson was asked, "Mr. Secretary, do you mean you will not be back if you get this full amount?" And the chairman of the committee gratuitously volunteered, "Do not promise that"; and while he did not change his statement as above quoted, Mr. Acheson did say then:

I most certainly could not promise that. * * * We hope very strongly that this emergency can be gotten over under the plan that we now have.

So that while there was some doubt cast, the foregoing positive statement was not changed, and it justified Congress in the belief that the billion three hundred and fifty million would do the job.

Well, here we are; not only are we being asked to bear 72 percent instead of 60 percent of this noble undertaking, but it is now an annual obligation. It is my considered opinion that UNRRA will be back next year for another billion, three hundred and fifty million. This perhaps would not be so bad if the American people felt that they were getting satisfaction for their money and actually reaching the objectives they are seeking to attain. However, I am afraid that such is not the fact, and I know many Members of Congress feel that such is not the fact.

The hearings on the present bill began on November 14 and continued through to the 23d of that month, and never have I attended hearings on a bill in which it was so difficult to get at the facts, even just the fundamental facts. Even UNRRA's bookkeeping is equivocal, and in the absence of a satisfactory explanation is subject to the criticism that it covers up the real facts. When we add this to the gross maladministration of UNRRA abroad, which I shall not discuss, it presents a dismal picture indeed.

Let us take table 8, purporting to give the status of contributions by member governments as of June 30, 1945, and apparently revised as of September 15, 1945. This is contained on page 33 in the Fourth Report of the President to Congress on the United States participation in operation of UNRRA, and was released October 11, 1945.

This table gives the list of contributions by the United Nations for operation purposes and lists 17 nations as having contributed. However, it does not at the head of the column give an unequivocal statement, but reads, "Paid or available on request." Reference to that tabulation will show that the total paid or available on request is \$1,268,000,000. Then there is another column labeled and headed, "In process of contribution" totaling \$597,000,000, which includes the \$550,000,000 recently appropriated by the House of Representatives of the United States in full payment of its subscription. Now this heading on the first column, "paid or available on request," to

my mind is very misleading. It smacks a good deal of a previous experience when we were told of what we had for preparedness for war and later found out that it was on hand and on order, mostly on order. It seems to me that if there were moneys that were not paid but available on request, they should be listed in a separate column and the reasons given as to why they were not collected, and why they were only available on request. However, as the column stands, you cannot distinguish between the two, and the United Kingdom is listed in that column for its full subscription, \$319,775,000. Now, one would naturally assume that UNRRA has received and collected the full amount or that at least it is available for feeding or rehabilitating the liberated countries at any time.

However, I am satisfied that such is not the case. Such facts as do exist on this had to be gleaned from a paper labeled, "Statement by Director General Herbert H. Lehman on the urgency of the second 1-percent contribution," in which we read that of the \$485,000,000 contributed by countries other than the United States, \$183,000,000 has been spent for supplies, and so forth, and \$122,000,000 obligated for supplies and delivery in November and December. Then it goes on to say, and I quote:

The balance of \$180,000,000, consisting chiefly of sterling from the United Kingdom contribution, will be spent for commodities in Great Britain. It will be appreciated, I am sure, that the supply position of the United Kingdom and other countries, with the exception of Canada, which has made available its full contribution, all of which has been spent, is less favorable than that of the United States, and that the range of commodities, particularly in foodstuffs, which can be bought with sterling, is extremely limited.

From this it is apparent that the \$319,000,000 from the United Kingdom is not all available; that \$180,000,000 of it consists of blocked sterling which is useless to UNRRA. The underfed people in Europe cannot eat blocked sterling. It is true that we cannot ask the United Kingdom to provide supplies for this blocked sterling which it does not have, for as stated in the foregoing quotation, the supply in the United Kingdom is very limited. We know that in foodstuffs and such essentials as Europe needs, the United Kingdom was only 40 percent self-supporting before the war. It now claims to have brought this up to 60 percent. So the United Kingdom still has to import for its own survival. It is therefore, in no position to contribute to UNRRA unless it purchases in world markets, which under the charter of UNRRA it is not obliged to do, for 90 percent of its quota may be purchased in the country making the contribution.

As late as September the United Kingdom itself was the recipient of foodstuffs and other supplies from the United States under lend-lease, and while it may have then been in some position to make contributions, even if it had to use lend-lease articles, that source, namely lend-lease, has now been closed to them both

for their own support and for use toward UNRRA if it was so used.

But I ask in all fairness, why should not the report state the facts in this respect and say frankly that while credit for blocked sterling has been made available by the United Kingdom, this does not mean that commodities are available.

Now, I could even swallow that. If the United Kingdom cannot meet the obligations of its contributions to UNRRA, well, that is that. But the State Department juggles its figures and makes them to appear as if my country, the United States, is welching on its obligations and is in default, while on the other hand the figures purport to show that the United Kingdom is meeting its obligations, and that is more than I can swallow. And I claim that this is just what the State Department is doing, as I shall show. Pat Hurley had something when he said that the subordinates in the State Department need investigating.

Upon reference to the hearings on this bill, you will find that I struggled to get a true picture of UNRRA's financial condition.

I told Governor Lehman in effect that UNRRA was a unit, that it had received—assuming that it gets our \$550,000,000 contribution approved in the House—\$1,835,000,000; that in order to exercise sound judgment on this further contribution of \$1,350,000,000 I would like to know how much it had spent of the foregoing amount, how much it had on hand, how long that which they had on hand would last, and what inventories they would have either in the liberated countries or elsewhere after the last shipment had been made; that if UNRRA was a unit, then its funds from all sources should be utilized simultaneously. I noted that their bookkeeping was a heterogeneous muddle, and purported to give two sets of accounts, one for the United States and another for nations other than the United States; that one set showed a deficit and the other a balance, which was not understandable. I even had representatives of the State Department in conference in my office and insisted on such a unified statement. Nevertheless, I have never received it up to this moment. I did receive from members of the State Department, too late to insert or use in the hearings, a more detailed statement or balance sheet, but still consisting of two accounts, one for the United States and the other for nations other than the United States, which are as follows:

<i>United States funds</i>	
Funds made available.....	\$800,000,000
Commitments, Oct. 31, 1945.....	800,000,000
Allocations, Oct. 31, 1945.....	791,073,029
Obligations, Oct. 31, 1945.....	690,562,773
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Supplies shipped by Oct. 31 paid from funds of the United States.....	485,000,000
Mission operating expenses, administration and displaced persons operations.....	15,000,000
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Total by Oct. 31, 1945.....	500,000,000

Obligated but not shipped.....	\$190,562,773
Committed but not obligated.....	109,437,227
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Total available for future shipment.....	300,000,000
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Shipments for November 1945.....	198,000,000
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Balance, Nov. 30, 1945.....	102,000,000
Additional appropriation under consideration.....	550,000,000
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Total.....	652,000,000
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Shipments for December 1945.....	280,000,000
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Balance, Dec. 31, 1945.....	372,000,000
Shipments for January 1946.....	280,000,000
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Balance, Jan. 31, 1946.....	92,000,000
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Shipments for February 1946.....	280,000,000
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Deficit for February shipments.....	-188,000,000
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<i>Funds of countries other than United States</i>	
Total funds made available by other countries by Oct. 31, 1945.....	\$485,000,000
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Commitments, Oct. 31, 1945.....	353,505,357
Obligations, Oct. 31, 1945.....	315,232,106
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Supplies shipped by Oct. 31 paid from other than United States funds.....	151,000,000
Mission operating expenses, administration and displaced persons operations.....	32,000,000
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Total by Oct. 31, 1945.....	183,000,000
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Obligated but not shipped.....	132,232,106
Committed but not obligated.....	38,273,251
Available but not committed.....	131,494,643
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Total available for future shipment.....	302,000,000
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Shipments for November 1945.....	52,000,000
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Balance Nov. 30, 1945.....	250,000,000
Shipments for December 1945.....	70,000,000
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Balance Dec. 31, 1945.....	180,000,000
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For supplies taken from Allied military authorities in Greece, Yugoslavia, and Albania:	
United Kingdom.....	44,000,000
Canada.....	1,500,000
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Total.....	45,500,000
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Available for supplies in other countries.....	134,500,000

At the December rate of \$70,000,000, this balance will approximately be sufficient for shipments through February 1946.

These statements do make possible some analysis, and it will be noted that the tabulation shows that up to and including October 1, 1945, shipments from the United States account amounted to \$500,000,000 and from countries other than the United States \$183,000,000. Now, that is a ratio of about 3 to 1, which is as it should be inasmuch as we are contributing 72 percent. But let us say roughly for convenience 75 percent of the fund is contributed by us and 25 percent by other nations, which, as I said before, makes a ratio of 3 to 1.

From that point on, however, they throw the ratio into a 4 to 1 proposition, as shipments for the United States for

November 1945 run to \$198,000,000, while the shipments for the other United Nations are listed as \$52,000,000. There is, of course, no justification for changing this ratio of 3 to 1 into 4 to 1.

Then for December they propose shipments for \$280,000,000 on account of the United States and only \$70,000,000 for countries other than the United States, which again is a ratio of 4 to 1. Then for January 1946 and February 1946 they propose \$280,000,000 each month on account of the United States, while they propose no corresponding quota for countries other than the United States, but merely say that at the December rate of \$70,000,000, the balance of \$180,000,000 with certain deductions which I do not understand will approximately be sufficient for shipments through February 1946.

But they say while the account of countries other than the United States will balance at the end of February, that of the United States will show a deficit of \$188,000,000.

Now in the first place, this is the first time I have seen bookkeeping of a joint contribution to a fund for expenditure in which one contributor's money is spent faster than that of the other. Certainly if any of you contribute 75 percent to a fund and I contribute 25 percent, every dollar that is spent—yes, every cent, even to the very last cent—contains three-fourths of your money and one-fourth of mine, so that our capital vanishes simultaneously. But UNRRA has a different system which pretends to show that United States contributions go faster than the others by one hundred and eighty million, just the amount of the British blocked sterling.

But that is not all. If you will total up the amounts in the United States column, five hundred million shipped by October 31, one hundred and ninety-eight million shipped in November, and two hundred and eighty million for December 1945 and January and February of 1946, this totals not \$1,350,000,000, the amount of our subscription, but \$1,538,000,000, an excess of one hundred and eighty-eight millions. Again I say that is just the amount of the United Kingdom blocked sterling. In other words, what they were unable to get from the United Kingdom, they have blandly shipped on our account and the United States shows a deficit of one hundred and eighty millions.

Or, if you want to double check this analysis let us approach it from another angle. I said a moment ago that these figures up to October 31 show shipments on United States account of \$500,000,000, and on account of countries other than the United States \$183,000,000. That totals \$683,000,000. Now, their total contributions—including the \$550,000,000 appropriated by the House—are \$1,835,000,000. Subtracting \$683,000,000 shipped up to October 31 from the total of \$1,835,000,000, leaves \$1,152,000,000 available. Now if they proposed to spread and make that last over a period of 4 months, November, December, January, and February, it would average \$288,000,000 for each month. Let us for

clarity figure \$280,000,000. On a 3-to-1 ratio, that would mean shipping each month on account of the United States \$210,000,000 and for the countries other than the United States, \$70,000,000. But instead of shipping \$210,000,000 a month on account of the United States, they have 1 month of \$198,000,000 and 3 months of \$280,000,000. In other words, they are shipping on our account the \$180,000,000 tied up in United Kingdom blocked sterling, which will be unavailable until doomsday. With this kind of cover-up bookkeeping it is no wonder the United States account shows a deficit. It is my honest judgment from these juggled figures that except for and because of the United Kingdom blocked sterling, the contributions of countries other than the United States have, on a ratio basis, all been dissipated, and that for the months of December, January, and February the United States is bearing the burden of foreign relief all alone.

Then I tried to find out from the witnesses: Assuming that these large shipments are made up to end of February, how long will those supplies last the liberated countries? It surely is not to be assumed that if commodities in the amount of \$280,000,000 are shipped up to the end of February, they will all be consumed by that date. But on this, namely the inventory of foodstuffs and other commodities in the liberated countries or elsewhere at the end of February 28, 1946, I could gain absolutely no intelligence or information. For all UNRRA knows, according to its bookkeeping, there may be enough to last into the middle of the summer. How, then, can Congress authorize or appropriate intelligently?

While we are talking about cover-up bookkeeping, I also want to say a word about covering up and keeping information from the American people. We have been spending a great deal of time on the question of freedom of the press, and freedom of information in the liberated countries, either as an abstract principle or with reference to information on distribution of UNRRA supplies. Instead of discussing that situation, it is far more important that we consider the right of the people of the United States to have freedom of information about the operation of UNRRA which reaches this country.

At the hearings there appeared a witness, Raymond E. Lindgren, from Chicago, who had for a short time been a member of the UNRRA organization in Europe, and who made what the chairman called very serious charges against UNRRA. Now, he was only giving direct evidence of things which many members of the Committee on Foreign Affairs and others knew in a general way to be the facts. I believe I know something about judging the fairness, credibility, and value of the testimony of the witness, and I thought he made a very fine, fair, and intelligent witness, and was well able to present his facts. But in the newspapers which I read of his appearance, and this included the New York Times, I saw nothing of the character of his testimony, but only a belittling of his status as a witness.

And again, on November 29, there appeared in the Washington Evening Star, a news item stating that more than 600 of UNRRA's workers had been suspended or arrested for diverting relief supplies into the black market. This purported to be an official statement by Leo J. Margolin, of New York, Chief of the UNRRA Information Bureau in Europe. And the substance of the news was in quotation from Mr. Margolin. It seems almost incredible that a reliable and reputable newspaper such as the Star should be wrong about news from such a source, and in quotes. Nevertheless, that was immediately cut from the next issue of that paper, and an alleged correction came out that the 600 employees had been dismissed for incompetence, and newspapers all over the country carried an alleged correction of the first statement.

Now, it does not make much difference to me, in judging the efficiency of UNRRA, whether a wholesale dismissal of personnel such as this is based upon black-market operations or just general incompetence. In fact, the first might be less reflection upon the efficiency of the management of UNRRA, because an employer can only with difficulty protect himself from dishonesty of employees originating in a new kind of work. Be that as it may, this wholesale discharge of personnel showed the same woeful disorganization and inefficiency that Mr. Lindgren had made reference to, and yet UNRRA seems to have the influence to suppress information of this kind from the public.

Other instances could probably be cited, but this covering up of UNRRA's woeful inefficiencies from the American public does not inspire confidence in alleged reform.

The foregoing remarks force the irresistible conclusion that I hold no brief for UNRRA. On the contrary, I harbor the opinion that with intelligent and judicious administration, our job in rehabilitating Europe could probably have been accomplished without further authorizations and appropriations.

Nevertheless, I feel constrained to support this bill for two reasons.

First, having set out to succor the suffering people of Europe, I do not believe the American people will abandon them to their fate merely because UNRRA may have lost and squandered most of the first consignment of supplies sent for European or even world relief. They would not want it said next summer that even a few thousand in remote places had starved, or that millions perhaps had suffered the pangs of hunger and cold through the winter, and were in ill health from malnutrition for want of one dollar out of every hundred dollars of American income.

Secondly, I do not think that from a practical viewpoint we could, with winter upon us, form or find a new organization; even if we could, article X of the Agreement for United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration precludes such action, for it provides as follows:

Any member government may give notice of withdrawal from the Administration at any time after the expiration of 6 months

from the entry into force of the Agreement for that government. Such notice shall take effect 12 months after the date of its communication to the Director General subject to the member government having met by that time all financial, supply, or other material obligations accepted or undertaken by it."

However, I think we should immediately take steps to insure that UNRRA is wound up within a year as now contemplated. If further relief is needed in the Far East it can be effected under a new organization or even the United Nations Organization. As now constituted, UNRRA is governed entirely by the Council of UNRRA, over which the Director General and the UNRRA administration has no control. We have only one vote on that Council, and they can saddle on the United States relief for any country they see fit. The UNRRA Council now has an ambitious program, which is secret, but in all probability contains such amounts as 250 millions for Russia, 200 millions for Austria, 450 millions for Italy, 800 millions for China, and so forth, and all the United States can do about it is pay. We should have the courage right now to take the honorable way out.

The only honorable way out is an amendment or something similar, which I shall propose when the bill is read, and which is as follows:

Amendment to H. R. 4669 offered by Mr. JONKMAN: Page 1, after line 11, insert the following:

"SEC. 2. Immediately after the enactment of this act notice shall be given, and communicated to the Director General of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, of the withdrawal of the United States from the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. Such notice shall be given and communicated by the President of the United States or by such other official of the Government as the President may designate, in conformity with the provisions of article X of the agreement concluded by the United States and associated governments on November 9, 1943."

Mr. COLE of Missouri. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JONKMAN. I yield.

Mr. COLE of Missouri. May I call the gentleman's attention to the fact that the total amount contributed to UNRRA was \$1,878,000,000, of which we contributed \$1,350,000,000 and the other countries reneged and still owe \$47,000,000.

Mr. JONKMAN. I thank the gentleman for his contribution.

Mr. BUFFETT. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JONKMAN. I yield.

Mr. BUFFETT. Some months ago I inquired of the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress about Russia's contribution to this fund and was advised by the Legislative Reference Service that their quota to the fund was \$400,000,000, but that no money had been placed in the fund by the Russian Government. Can the gentleman bring me up to date on that? Has that contribution been made, or any contribution of that type?

Mr. JONKMAN. I am not sure that the gentleman is right about the amount, \$400,000,000, but, of course, Russia, as an invaded country, is not asked to con-

tribute to the fund. However, they do contribute to the administration fund. That is the fund that is used for administering the operating fund, to which alone I shall address myself. It may be that is \$400,000,000, but I would not think it is as much as that.

Mr. BLOOM. No. It is \$100,000,000.

Mr. BUFFETT. They were making some contribution to the administrative fund, but in the original discussion on the UNRRA bill I went over the proceedings with some care and mention was made of the fact that occupied countries would not contribute, but there was no statement I have been able to find that invaded countries would not contribute. The Library of Congress had the very definite opinion—where they got it I do not know—that Russia was supposed to contribute to the fund itself, and they supplied me with the figure \$400,000,000.

Mr. JONKMAN. I think that is erroneous. I do not believe Russia has been asked to contribute. Countries that have been invaded have not been asked to contribute.

Mr. O'HARA. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JONKMAN. I yield.

Mr. O'HARA. I wonder how many more of these appropriation bills for UNRRA we may anticipate? Can the gentleman enlighten the House upon that subject?

Mr. JONKMAN. It is my considered judgment that they will be back next year for another \$1,350,000,000. These habits are hard to get out of.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JONKMAN. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. BLOOM. I do not think the gentleman wants to give out the impression that the "available on request" is anything suspicious. The gentleman can explain what "available on request" means.

Mr. JONKMAN. The gentleman will explain it.

Mr. BLOOM. I thank the gentleman.

Mr. JONKMAN. That has been covered in my remarks.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as she may desire to the gentlewoman from California [Mrs. DOUGLAS].

Mrs. DOUGLAS of California. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of UNRRA.

In 5 countries of Europe today there are 30,000,000 children under 14 years of age who have never known what it felt like to have enough to eat.

They cannot remember anything but brutality, fear, hate. Hundreds of thousands of them are orphans. Their earliest memories are of their fathers being hunted like wild animals, their mothers dragged off to concentration camps from which they never came back. These are the children of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Italy, Greece.

Tomorrow those children—those of them who do not starve—will be adults.

Our children here in America will be adults, too. And together those children of war-torn countries and ours must run a world in an atomic age.

Through UNRRA we insure our children's safety by helping a little to give those children a decent start. We are the richest people on earth—and nobody has ever called us stingy. Americans are not the kind of people who can be indifferent to hungry children. Our GI's could not. Time and time again war correspondents, writing the story of the GI's march across Europe, sent home stories about American soldiers giving away their chocolate bars to half-starved youngsters along the way, filling their tin hats with water to wash away tears and grime from thin little faces.

But even if we were so inhuman as not to care what happens to the world's starving children, we cannot afford to ignore them.

We cannot let them grow up, desperate and embittered, with diseased bodies and warped minds.

We cannot afford it in this atomic age, remembering what just one crazy man did to the world in our generation when that world was ripe to be picked. There appeared before the Foreign Affairs Committee of this House a woman who did relief work in Europe following the First World War. Listen to what she said:

Those of us who did this relief work, after a year or two, kept saying to each other, "If you starve bodies, the thing that is really going to happen is that it is going to affect their sense of security, their minds, and their emotions." All of us felt that.

Then it was confirmed for me in 1937. I went back to Vienna. I had been in charge in Vienna, where we fed about 186,000 babies in 1920 and 1921. One couldn't know all the families, of course, but one came to know some of them. Some of the mothers of those youngsters came to me in 1937 and said: "We wish you would talk to our sons. They have joined a secret Hitler youth movement, and we would like to see what you can do to persuade them to get out of it."

I talked to those youngsters—lovely kids, really, but neurotic—and they turned on me fiercely, taking the position that a person such as I should know that the only memory they had in the world was a memory of starvation when they were children.

I would like to point out to the Members of this House that UNRRA is the first operating international organization that goes beyond a mere negotiation level. In UNRRA 44 nations are sitting down together and, not only planning methods of doing a job on which they can all agree, but actually doing the job together. In a sense this is a testing ground for the United Nations Organization itself—a pilot plant to test out world cooperation.

The American people are not being asked for much money. In terms of the amount we have put into the war—into destruction—it is "peanuts." Think what could be done toward rebuilding the world with the amount of money we put into just 6 months of war without ever questioning the cost.

To win the peace it will take the same kind of imagination, the same kind of daring it took to win the war.

We are willing to go on spending vast sums of money for armaments—and to enlist highly trained people to handle those arms.

The money we pay into UNRRA is insurance money against the future use of those arms.

When we talk about insuring ourselves against another war, remember, another war will be the last war. And remember, it won't make any difference, if we pull the world down around our heads, whether our Budget is balanced or not. You cannot build peace in a world that is starving, freezing, disease-ridden.

The time is now. This next year will tell the story.

The job UNRRA has started must be continued. Welfare is not a side issue in UNRRA's program of rehabilitation. The women, the children, the aged, the sick, and the disabled millions who survived enemy occupation and the devastation of war in Europe and the Far East need something more than food to ward off starvation and clothing to cover their nakedness. They require a great deal of help, extra help, beyond these obvious necessities. Millions of war orphans need homes and care and guidance if they are to have a chance to grow up into sane, responsible citizens of the world of tomorrow. Young people of both sexes need professional guidance and training for useful occupations if they are to forget the horrors they have seen and even taken part in. They will need this guidance if they are to be prepared for useful, honorable lives.

When UNRRA was organized, the United Nations made specific provision for welfare services for victims of war—in particular for children, expectant and nursing mothers, the aged, and the disabled.

The governments in their planning at Atlantic City did not assume that UNRRA would do the whole job. On the contrary, they expected to do as much of it themselves as they could. They anticipated, however, that the structure for administering welfare services which had been in existence before the war upon liberation would be found destroyed, and the skilled and experienced welfare staffs killed or scattered. They knew also that the tremendous problems that would face the staff that remained would overwhelm them unless some assistance were forthcoming from the resources of the United Nations.

To meet these problems, UNRRA created within its organization in Washington a Welfare Division staffed with some of the outstanding persons in the relief and welfare field in the United States and other United Nations. The Federal Security Agency and the Children's Bureau, two of the outstanding public social agencies in the United States, lent UNRRA some of its key people. Two of the largest private welfare organizations in the country did likewise. The small group that was assembled began to bring together a hard-hitting, experienced staff which was available to any of the liberated areas that found its own welfare staff inadequate to do the job.

Today there are approximately 100 trained, experienced welfare specialists, exclusive of Displaced Persons Operations, recruited from many of the United Nations, working as part of the UNRRA missions in the areas in Europe and the Far East in which UNRRA is providing

assistance to the governments. When one thinks of the size of the areas covered by UNRRA's operations in Greece, Italy, Albania, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Poland, and China—when one thinks of the tremendous need of the populations in those areas, particularly of the children, the aged, and the disabled—one wonders how such a small group can carry out the responsibilities placed upon the Administration by the United Nations to "make specific provision for the welfare services." The answer lies in the fact that UNRRA has scrupulously refrained from building up its mission personnel beyond the actual needs of the governments which it is assisting, and, secondly, that the specific needs of the vulnerable sections of the populations are just beginning to emerge from the general sufferings of the populations as a whole.

The UNRRA welfare technicians who have been assisting the governments did not enter the countries with any preconceived plan of operations, no program for overhauling the country's social welfare administrative machinery to make it conform to established or accepted patterns. They entered the country armed with as much information as the government could give them concerning the structure of prewar welfare services and the needs they were likely to encounter. And also with the knowledge that they were needed to help the governments restore their social-welfare machinery to get the urgently needed food and clothing to the people without resources as rapidly as it was humanly possible to do so.

To accomplish this, UNRRA's welfare staff has been working along three lines:

First. Helping the governments determine the extent of the need and the size of the problem and then assisting in organizing the administrative machinery for distributing the necessary supplies.

Second. Helping organize special programs for the care of children and other special groups such as the disabled.

Third. Helping the governments organize special training programs for their nationals who are needed to carry out the welfare job, and bringing to the governments the latest information and knowledge developed in the welfare field in other countries.

Let me illustrate these points with specific examples of what this staff has been doing and why. First, that of helping the governments build the machinery to bring food and clothing to the people.

Recently a message from Italy was received which reported:

Food in position to feed 1,500,000 mothers and children by end of November. School-lunch program now in full swing. Naples and Rome to be extended in the fall throughout the schools of Italy.

Behind these simple statements lies the story of the hard and difficult task performed by the UNRRA Welfare Division of the Italian mission. These statements also testify to the accomplishments achieved in a few short months in a nation held in the grip of Fascism for over 20 years and battered by war five more years. With the transportation system almost completely destroyed, Italian welfare agencies completely dis-

organized, and with the economy practically bankrupt, the UNRRA mission faced the challenge of helping the Italian people to help themselves. It was not only a question of providing supplies and transportation to establish a feeding program for children and nursing and expectant mothers, but perhaps more important to get the Italian agencies and organizations organized so that they could carry out the program themselves.

In addition to the usual problems brought about by lack of transportation in Italy, the first problem which faced the welfare staff was how to circumvent the notorious black market. Such items as sugar, milk, white flour, which we were importing for child-feeding programs, were likely to land in the black market unless we found a new and different method of distribution. The second problem was overcoming the attitudes and methods with which the Fascist regime has indoctrinated the people of Italy. This could not be accomplished by statements and assurances. This had to be accomplished by deeds and by establishing working relations with Italian Government officials from the ministers down to the *Syndaco*—Mayor—of the tiniest *comuna*. UNRRA had to prove to the Italian people that it was different from the Nazis and Fascists. It had to prove that it had no ulterior motives in its work in Italy. It had to prove that it was genuinely concerned as representatives of the United Nations with the welfare of the women and children it wished to serve.

Prior to March 8, 1945, when the Italian Government-UNRRA agreement was signed, it was not possible to establish official contacts with the Italian agencies, but, in spite of this, UNRRA's welfare personnel was able to do the groundwork and set the stage for our program of care and welfare services for children and expectant mothers. UNRRA representatives were able to visit the areas in greatest need and to survey these areas in terms of resources and facilities. They were able to secure information from Allied Military Government and Allied Commission officers. They were able to meet "unofficially" with representatives of the governmental ministries and agencies which would be involved in its program to discuss and exchange ideas on how operations would take place.

On the basis of this groundwork, the first supplies that arrived were allocated to feed the women and children in the badly devastated provinces of Frosinone, Latina, Aquila, Pescara and Chieti. These provinces span the peninsula and were the scene of the bitter Liri Valley campaign from Cassino to Rome. The cities of Rome and Naples were also selected as areas of greatest need because they depended upon other agricultural provinces for their food.

The blueprint of the organization for distribution was worked out jointly by the UNRRA welfare staff and the responsible Italian Government officials. However, to make this a living, working thing required tremendous organizational activity on the part of UNRRA.

Since it was decided not to use the ordinary channels for food distribution,

UNRRA had to work out an alternative. The only way it could guarantee that precious food would not get into the black market was by establishing working committees made up of the most responsible people in the provinces and in the communes. Emphasis on the need for local organization stemmed from the fact that the national government was weak and liable to fall. In the event that this happened, providing there were strong local organizations, the program could continue in operation until a new cabinet was formed. The provincial committee included the following: Governor, the public health officer, the superintendent of schools, a representative of OMMI—the National Organization for Maternal and Child Welfare—a representative of the church, a representative of the governmental food agency, a representative of the Italian assistance agency and other persons engaged in child and maternal welfare work. The communal committees were composed of the local counterparts of the organizations represented on the provincial level. The organization of these committees provided an opportunity for the Italian people to work together in a democratic fashion. For the first time in Italy, women were represented on committees and participating in community affairs.

Committees were first organized in the cities of Rome and Naples and the devastated provinces. By the end of May committees were organized in 27 southern Italian provinces then liberated. The high food commissioner was designated as the person in the Government responsible for the child-feeding program. While a representative of the office of the commissioner of food was always present at the first meeting of the provincial committees, the UNRRA district welfare representative has to provide the major portion of leadership in getting the committee work under way. It was necessary for the UNRRA field staff to assume responsibility for details of operation that had not been anticipated when local organization plans were developed. Gradually, however, the provincial committees assumed and discharged more of the responsibility expected of them.

To illustrate this point, the committee in Latina is a good example. Latina Province, which was formerly named Littoria, was one of Mussolini's pet projects. It was a completely modern province built on reclaimed land which was formerly the Pontine marshes. This province had been a Fascist stronghold. This province had also been subject to severe war damage. At the first meeting of the committee, because of the political differences, feeling ran so high that it was necessary to call the police to prevent a riot. The Government officials were floundering around because they had been used to operating by Fascist or directive from Rome. They were not accustomed to making decisions through democratic discussion. Committees had been merely used to rubber-stamp decisions already arrived at by the Fascist Party. Now they were required to act on their own initiative. A measure of UNRRA's service is a comparison of this first meeting with one that took place 4 months

later. At this meeting there was an orderly agenda, and reports by the various members of the committee indicated that they had learned to make decisions and carry them out in a democratic fashion. This is something that UNRRA has contributed to the Italian people, which cannot be counted in dollars or tons, but which, we trust, will continue long after UNRRA's job in Italy is completed.

In the first distribution, over 200,000 children and nursing and expectant mothers received UNRRA's supplementary food. Where cooking facilities were available, communal feeding operations were set up. Where there were no cooking facilities, food was distributed in small packages. The standard distribution comprised milk, lard, sugar, peas, beans, flour, and fish, which went to make up an additional daily meal for each child of 750 calories.

Parallel with the development of the feeding program were other developments. The democratic Italian agencies participating in this program were strengthened. School lunch programs developed in Rome and Naples were instrumental in attracting children back to school. Conferences were organized by specialists on the UNRRA staff, providing the Italians with the latest nutritional information. Recreational projects for children were initiated to reduce delinquency. A committee was organized by a member of the UNRRA welfare staff relating to the care of children in institutions.

With the liberation of the northern provinces, and the end of the war, and the easing of the shipping situation, which permitted the continuous flow of UNRRA supplies to Italy, our program developed and expanded. Each succeeding month brings a strengthening of the UNRRA-Italian operation and an increase in the number of children and nursing and expectant mothers fed. By the time winter arrives, the most needy of the Italian women and children will be receiving UNRRA supplementary food.

In Greece UNRRA's problems of helping to organize governmental machinery for relief purposes were, in the main, similar to those faced in Italy. As in Italy, the UNRRA staff set out to stimulate the development of the democratic committee structure to help decide which communities were to receive the supplies and which individuals in these communities were to receive supplies free. After 6 months of long and arduous work with the welfare officials in the Greek Government, a law was passed by the Government, which established in Greece a nation-wide public-assistance program. Welfare centers are being established by the Government in each of the 39 provinces. As a result of the legislation passed by the Greek Government, the people know the conditions which make them eligible for free supplies, they know where to go for them, and they know what to do and where to go if they believe that their case has not been handled justly.

The UNRRA welfare staff is working closely with the Greek officials responsible for organizing the centers and are advising them in the details of staffing

the centers, organizing appeal boards which are part of the plan, and observing carefully the daily operations of the centers to insure that the basic necessities are given to those who are in greatest need. For the first time, Greece has a nation-wide program for administering relief to the needy so that they can be assured of equitable and speedy relief. As in Italy, UNRRA has been able, by the presence of a few skilled specialists experienced in dealing with relief, to help the Government get the supplies to its people at a time when speed was of the essence.

In Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, on the other hand, central and local leadership has been more dynamic. The Government and people quickly took the initiative in organizing machinery to handle emergency relief needs or reestablishing prewar social welfare agencies and institutions through which basic supplies are being distributed, and crucial needs of special groups are being met. In these countries, therefore, the UNRRA staff has not been called upon to carry the same kind of responsibilities as in the case of Italy and Greece.

Another major area of our activities has been in helping the governments restore their child-welfare programs. I do not think it necessary to recount the sufferings of the children of Europe, particularly those in the countries being assisted by UNRRA. There are approximately 100,000,000 people in these areas, and roughly, a fourth, or 25,000,000, are under 14 years of age. Not all of these children, of course, are in need. But the numbers reported orphaned, homeless, and in need of special care are staggering. Although this is an age of large totals, where millions and billions have become commonplace, I, for one, feel overwhelmed when I am told that 50,000 children in Greece are orphaned—that of the 5,000,000 children left in Yugoslavia, about 3,500,000 are in dire need and 500,000 have been left homeless and orphaned—that special feeding must be organized for the 4,000,000 children in Poland—and that in China the total of needy children runs into the tens of millions. Of all the services which UNRRA has been called upon to give to the governments, the demands for aid in meeting the needs of the children have been most insistent. Not only are the governments requesting food and clothing, but also help in organizing the facilities and programs, through which specialized care can be brought to these children.

UNRRA's welfare staff helping the governments include skilled technicians with many years of experience in developing programs for the care of children. These specialists have been called upon by the governments, in every country in which UNRRA is operating, to aid children along three lines: (a) to help restore the institutions and other facilities caring for the homeless and orphaned; (b) to develop feeding programs; and, (c) to develop special programs for care for the undernourished and sick.

In the main, the work of the welfare staff has been that of helping the Government survey the problem, advising on the kinds of supplies and equipment that

are needed to restore or institute the necessary programs, and then as the supplies arrive in the country, to help the local welfare people establish the facilities.

In Greece the UNRRA staff has helped organize care for 30,000 orphaned and homeless children by restoring the institutions, and has helped the Government register about 20,000 others in order to try to get as many as possible back to the homes of relatives. In Yugoslavia, its people are working out plans for caring for almost 500,000 children, and special supplies to establish 200 homes to provide for about 20,000 are already on the way. Because of the relative inexperience of most of the local Yugoslav welfare workers, UNRRA is being called on by the Government to work with the National Ministry of Welfare in going out into the provinces to help in surveying the problem and working out programs to meet the situation. In Czechoslovakia, the story is the same. As a result of UNRRA's help in evaluating the situation and counseling the Government's welfare officials, supplies are on the way to establish 100 child-welfare centers and missions for 20,000 children.

One of the first concerns of the Governments, after their return to the liberated areas, has been to provide the maximum possible assurance that at least the children would be fed. They knew well the consequences on the future of their countries if the malnutrition of the children remained uncorrected. For Greece, UNRRA has worked out a program for feeding 900,000 children through school lunches and child-feeding centers. Poland, where its mission has just begun to work, has already reported that 4,000,000 children in the cities would need to be provided with a special feeding program. I have already described the program in Italy where a million and a half children and mothers are receiving supplementary foods. In all of this work of establishing the pipeline through which the food reaches the needy children, UNRRA welfare technicians have helped blueprint the program, organize the facilities and local staff needed to carry it out, and have helped iron out the inevitable difficulties that arise in any new operation.

Some of the governments have already been able to go further than organizing their child-care programs simply to meet the elementary needs of shelter and food. Greece with the aid of an UNRRA staff has been able to establish summer rest camps for 45,000 undernourished city children. The story of the establishment of these camps is a story of improvisation, requisitioning, and borrowing tents from the British Army, and emergency shipments of supplies from the United Kingdom and the Middle East. With this experience behind them, the plans of the Greek Government for caring for 100,000 city children next summer should materialize without the struggle that was experienced this year. Czechoslovakia, like Greece, has already progressed with establishing youth hostels for about 30,000 undernourished young people who are being given special treatment to restore them to health and fit them for

new responsibilities in their communities.

The battle to save the children of Europe will be a long one. The energy with which the governments are tackling the problem, and the progress they are making gives much more hope than anyone would have dared to express a year ago. The governments now know their problems. They know what to do.

I indicated earlier that in organizing UNRRA, the Governments hoped to be able to use their own people to carry out the task of bringing relief to the needy. I am glad to say that, in the main, they have been able to find the necessary numbers of people. It has remained for UNRRA to help the governments organize short training courses to orient the new workers to the job they were to do. Thus when Greece began to establish its nation-wide program for public assistance, it became necessary to man the 39 welfare centers established under the law. The UNRRA Welfare technicians working with the local people are helping to train these new workers to carry out their tasks efficiently and understandingly.

The story of the activities of the seven UNRRA welfare specialists now in China illustrates best perhaps how this international Organization is helping the governments organize themselves to bring relief to their people. UNRRA Welfare people have been in China only about 4 months, some only about a month. Nevertheless, in that short time UNRRA has helped the Government organize a program for relief in one of the most devastated provinces of China, and through this Organization to begin the training of the thousands of Chinese workers who ultimately will be needed to administer the Chinese relief program. Early in May, the United States Army headquarters appealed to UNRRA for relief for refugees in Kweichow and Western Hunan provinces. The Japanese offensive south of the Yangtze River in 1944 had forced hundreds of thousands to flee from their homes and to march in the dead of winter across the high plateau land of Kweichow. Many were refugees for the fourth or fifth time.

As soon as the request for aid was received from the United States Army, UNRRA dispatched several of its staff to the area to determine what should be done. One of the most obvious needs that was reported was to organize shelter and feeding for thousands of the refugees who were living in half destroyed shacks and hovels, all showing evident malnutrition and about a third ill with dysentery, malaria, and typhus. One of the UNRRA welfare staff and four Chinese agricultural students were sent down—the four students to receive training while helping the UNRRA staff member. This is what they did in 1 week: They took over two refugee camps housing several hundred refugees, chiefly war widows and aged persons; they obtained local help to clean up some of the most habitable of the ruined buildings and moved the refugees into them; they set up a feeding station to feed not only those in the camp but refugees liv-

ing outside the camp; they obtained the services of a local doctor to care for the sick. Five died during the week, but those that are left have a chance. The UNRRA worker returned to his headquarters when the week was over. The four Chinese agricultural students who were being trained are carrying on the job. Soon they will be training other and newer Chinese workers, who, in turn, will transmit their experience to others. The organizational and administrative experience of the UNRRA staff is being used by the Chinese Government to bring actual relief to the Chinese people in such a way as to enable the small UNRRA staff to exert its maximum influence.

The Chinese Government has been planning its relief operation for months, and included in its plan is an ambitious plan for training thousands of Chinese workers who are to be used in the relief operation. Many will be trained on the job as described above. Others will necessarily need to be trained off the job. For this group training centers are being established by the Chinese Government. The UNRRA welfare staff are acting as advisors to the Chinese in developing the content of the training designed to last 1 to 4 weeks. During this brief period the Chinese workers are being taught the methods of establishing and managing mass feeding stations, methods of distributing relief supplies, and methods of remodeling salvaged army clothes. The first of the centers, organized in Chungking a month ago, is turning out about 100 trained workers a month. Other centers are in process of being organized.

I have tried briefly to sketch the activities of the relatively small group of UNRRA people, participating as part of the UNRRA missions in the work of helping the governments channel the UNRRA supplies they are receiving to their people. It is a long jump from the warehouse at the port to the needy individual in the interior of a country. We who are accustomed to our efficient commercial distribution system of our country, and to our smooth working relief agencies, perhaps cannot visualize the enormous task that has faced the governments which are receiving UNRRA supplies. But, day by day, the machinery for getting supplies and social services to the people is growing stronger. It is gathering strength from this great work in fostering the organization of the country's social services—services designed to meet the needs of these people who cannot provide for themselves, and to meet them in a sympathetic and democratic way.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Chairman, the task which the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration has assumed—the task of saving millions of war victims in the invaded lands of our allies from starvation or death from disease or exposure—will make UNRRA the greatest single customer of the American farmer.

UNRRA's purchases of foodstuffs alone—providing she has the funds to

make these purchases—will probably be more than \$600,000,000 during the coming year. While she is engaged in the great humanitarian work of helping the unfortunate peoples of the liberated areas of Europe and China to survive, UNRRA will, at the same time, be playing a leading part in maintaining a strong economy for our own citizens. Her relief purchases will benefit the grain grower, the stock raiser, the dairy farmer, the poultryman, the cotton planter.

Procurement for the armed forces, already sharply curtailed with the end of hostilities, will dwindle still further as millions of our veterans are discharged from the service and return to their homes. But while the purchases of the services grow smaller, UNRRA's demands, on the other hand, must increase if the tide of famine in the devastated areas of Europe and the Far East is to be stemmed.

Included in UNRRA's essential relief needs are not only those foodstuffs for which there will be wide demand, but other food items which are certain to be in surplus supply. Unless these foods are disposed of to UNRRA, they will have to be held until they have spoiled or else be dumped on the market at prices so low as to disrupt the entire farm price structure.

The end of the war found the Army with large surpluses of foods which had been procured when it seemed probable that the war would last longer than it did. Were these goods to be placed in the open market here the surplus situation, always a threat to the prosperity of the American farmer, would be further aggravated. Fortunately, however, UNRRA can make use of these surpluses. She has negotiated for the purchase at a price of \$100,000,000 for huge quantities of canned meats, Army rations, peanut butter, fruit spreads, juices, and so forth. These supplies represent most of the known Army surpluses in continental United States.

UNRRA recently agreed to accept from the Department of Agriculture 100,000,000 pounds of meat hashes and stews in 6-pound cans—all other claimants on United States food supplies refused to accept these products.

UNRRA recently agreed to contribute \$3,000,000 and \$5,000,000, respectively, to assist in the solution of the surplus sweet and surplus white potato problems.

UNRRA recently helped to underwrite the Department of Agriculture's canning program by committing funds to procure 200,000 bags of dry wrinkled peas.

UNRRA recently bought 30,000,000 pounds of soya flour and 15,000,000 pounds of soya grits that threatened to go out of condition.

UNRRA recently bought some 50,000,000 pounds of dried soup more than half of which consisted of reconditioned soup which had to be reprocessed by UNRRA to render it palatable.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RABAUT. I yield to the distinguished gentleman from Texas.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Did I correctly understand the gentleman to

say a moment ago that UNRRA had purchased sweetpotatoes to send abroad?

Mr. RABAUT. Yes.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. The reason I ask that is that a Member said to me this afternoon on the floor that he understood UNRRA would accept only Irish potatoes and would not use sweetpotatoes.

Mr. RABAUT. No; both types of potatoes are being purchased, and this action relieved the surplus market.

UNRRA recently bought 15,000,000 pounds of chick peas, which had to be reprocessed to make them into palatable food.

UNRRA is in a position to help the American farmer in the disposition, through new uses or the continuation of wartime uses, of various products, the present or prospective supply of which is in excess of effective demand. For example, few of our people in peacetime will accept dried eggs when shell eggs are available. Now, with dried eggs in surplus UNRRA has signed up to take 50,000,000 pounds of surplus dried eggs as soon as funds become available, thereby affording assistance to America's poultry industry.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Michigan has expired.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield five additional minutes to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RABAUT. I yield.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Will any of this food make the recipients of UNRRA ill? It does not sound like very attractive and palatable food to send to poor people who are starving.

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Chairman, I hardly think that the gentlewoman would feel that anything done by this country would be for any other purpose than to help and to improve the health of the unfortunate people of the world.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. I agree with the gentleman, but UNRRA is not this country alone.

Mr. RABAUT. The items I am referring to now are, concerning the relief of America and at the same time assisting those who come under the mantle of UNRRA.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. I see.

Mr. RABAUT. "To whom much is given, much is expected in return." That is the point I am trying to make; that even as we do all these things for the people of the world we are being helped ourselves through the gracious hand of Almighty God.

Dairy products were in extremely tight supply until after VJ-day. Now they are in surplus. For fourth-quarter shipments of 1945 UNRRA has procured, or is procuring, almost 200,000,000 pounds of evaporated milk, over 20,000,000 pounds of dried whole milk and 68,000,000 pounds of dried skim milk. These large purchases have been of significance in removing what otherwise would have been surplus dairy products. UNRRA's demands for dairy products will be even

greater in 1946. They may be as high as \$150,000,000.

Wheat will continue to be the principal staple in UNRRA's feeding program. Up to the first of October, UNRRA had sent from the United States approximately 150,000 metric tons, more than five and a half million bushels of wheat, and 50,000 metric tons of wheat flour. If the wheat is available, UNRRA—providing also that funds are available—will be in the market for 2,500,000 metric tons nearly 100,000,000 bushels—of wheat and for nearly 1,000,000 tons of wheat flour.

The cotton planter of the South can look to UNRRA as one of its greatest customers in 1946. If funds are available, UNRRA is prepared to take approximately 120,000 long tons—more than half a million bales of United States cotton.

The desperate needs of the helpless victims of Nazi and Japanese aggression is the compelling reason for the American Congress to grant UNRRA's appeal for funds to carry on the work of mercy. It is gratifying to know that our humanitarianism will also directly benefit a great sector of our own citizenship—the American farmer.

Again I say to whom much is given, much is expected in return.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RABAUT. I yield.

Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON. The gentleman has made a very fine and informative statement. It presents facts and figures that some people have not thought about. As I understand, under this authorization, 90 percent of all the funds appropriated for UNRRA will be spent here rather than be spent abroad. As the gentleman has said, it will take care of some of the surplus cotton and other agricultural products which we have in superabundance.

Mr. RABAUT. I will say to my friend that had I not made a trip this year to Europe and seen conditions at first hand, I do not believe I would have the tremendous interest which agitated me to the point of gathering these statistics.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Michigan has expired.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 15 minutes to the gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. MUNDT].

COLONEL SCHWARZKOPF, IRAN

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, during the initial part of my remarks, I ask unanimous consent to speak out of order.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from South Dakota?

There was no objection.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, on Monday, December 3, I addressed the House in connection with some rather startling and disturbing conditions which prevail in Iran at the present time. My remarks in that connection will be found beginning on page 11361 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

In reply to that portion of my speech of Monday, in which I stated that the salary of Col. H. Norman Schwarzkopf, of the United States Army, was being paid out of funds of the United States

War Department, and that he was acting as commander of the gendarmerie of Iran, Mr. Michael J. McDermott, a State Department official, today issued a press statement, stating that Colonel Schwarzkopf is serving in an advisory capacity only.

I do not know with what authority Mr. McDermott speaks for the State Department, but I do know that he speaks with very little information to support his statement.

Here are the facts concerning Colonel Schwarzkopf:

First. He is on the pay roll of the United States Army today, although serving with the Iran gendarmerie under contract with the Iranian Government. This contract was asked for by the Government of Iran and American action favorable to its conclusion was instigated by our Department of State, not by our War Department.

Mr. Chairman, yesterday a high State Department official told me that Colonel Schwarzkopf's salary was being paid by the Iranian Government, and that he was not on the pay roll of the United States Army. However, that same high State Department official later in the day corrected himself and admitted my statement to be correct.

Second. Colonel Schwarzkopf's reference to himself as the commander of the gendarmerie. In a conference in Teheran, attended by the lady from Ohio [Mrs. Bolton], who I am pleased to see on the floor attending to duty as usual, the American Ambassador, Wallace Murray, and several others, along with myself, Colonel Schwarzkopf told us in September that he was acting in the capacity of commander of the gendarmerie.

Third. In a letter over his signature, dated September 5, 1945, Colonel Schwartzkopf states specifically:

The mission was sent to Iran for the purpose of reorganizing the Imperial Iranian Gendarmerie. It consists of eight officers and two enlisted men. The chief of mission has been vested with full administrative authority and is in effect the chief and commander of the gendarmerie.

He signs his letter, Mr. Chairman, "H. Norman Schwarzkopf, Colonel, Infantry, United States Army, Chief, Imperial Iranian Gendarmerie."

I am a little disturbed, Mr. Chairman, that under prevailing conditions and at a time when foreign secretary Ernest Bevin of Great Britain tells us that the gendarmerie of Iran are clashing with troops of the Soviet Republics, we should have a condition existing in which an American Army officer in American Army uniform, in the pay of the War Department, under a contract inspired and instigated by the State Department, can sign a letter in which two lines, in juxtaposition, say, one, "Colonel, Infantry, United States Army," and, secondly, "Chief, Imperial Iranian Gendarmerie."

Small wonder, in my opinion, that the Russian Government, in response to the Secretary of State's request, under date of November 26, sent back the reply that it does not propose to take its troops out of Iran.

As I said in my initial statement of December 3, to which Mr. McDermott's statement to the press today pretends to be an answer, we must enter the court of world opinion with clean hands. No place in the letter sent by Mr. Byrnes to the Soviet Government was there any indication or intimation that we were expecting to remove our officials from the Iranian Army and the Iranian Gendarmerie.

Fourth. Since this letter was addressed to a representative of our State Department, it is reasonable to suppose Mr. McDermott could have had access to it if his zeal for accuracy was as great as his zest for publicity. Certainly, it is reasonable to suppose that an American Army officer who writes, "The Chief of mission has been vested with full administrative authority and is in effect the chief and commander of the gendarmerie" and signs himself "Chief" is doing far more than "serving in a strictly advisory capacity" as stated by Mr. McDermott.

The questions in my letter to Secretary of State Byrnes, dated December 3d, were put in good faith. My speech as recorded in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for December 3d was made in the interests of bettering our foreign relations with our most important allies and for the purpose of bringing into the open activities which I believe helped impel Russia to reject the requests contained in the State Department's note to Russia released November 26. I am sure I shall receive a direct, factual, and considered reply from Secretary of State Byrnes. In the meantime, I suggest Mr. McDermott get all the facts before attempting to discuss through the newspapers a situation which I would reasonably suppose the State Department would want to consider carefully before replying to the five direct questions I asked of it in my letter of December 3rd.

Mr. Chairman, I am afraid that Mr. McDermott is long on volubility and short on verisimilitude.

I am sending a copy of this statement to the press gallery so that the newspapers may be fully advised and forewarned concerning the type of information that Mr. McDermott puts out while signing himself as Chief Information Officer of the State Department.

I am in favor of getting information out of the State Department, but I think it should be accurate, complete, and official. I do not think there should be an effort to disguise the facts. I think we shall have a reply direct from the Secretary of State which Mr. McDermott might well then release to the press stating officially the justification of the State Department for the activities which it is undertaking in foreign areas at this troubled period in world history.

UNRRA

Mr. Chairman, I wish to say a word or two about UNRRA. When I first voted for UNRRA it was with considerable enthusiasm, and I then took the floor and delivered myself of quite a speech in support of UNRRA for I recognized the great need of Europe, I recognized the responsibility that America

had as the greatest of all nations to help the stricken. I thought it would be a fine experiment through international cooperation to bring together to work many men of many nations in a great humanitarian and charitable cause.

The next time I voted for UNRRA it was with less enthusiasm, but I voted for it again. After seeing it in operation in Europe and especially in the far eastern sections of Europe this summer and hearing the testimony before our committee I shall vote for it this time with the least enthusiasm of all.

Some people may ask: Why do you vote for it at all if you feel that way about it? I will answer that question first. I am going to vote for it in the first place because I recognize the great and overwhelming need which exists in Europe today for foodstuffs, for clothing, for shelter, for medicine, and for certain rudimentary transportation facilities. I recognize that America desires to help and is responsible for helping, and I recognize that this \$1,350,000,000 we are authorizing today and the \$550,000,000 which the Senate approved in its appropriation act a few hours ago and which this House will certainly concur in, that that approximately \$2,000,000,000 will help somewhat to relieve the situation. It is not going to help anywhere near the degree that its enthusiastic advocates suppose it will who came to us in good faith and said, "Pass UNRRA as it is." I wish it were as good as they think it is. But it is going to help some and because I am unwilling by any vote of mine to do anything which would deprive those starving, hungry, suffering people of what little aid we can string out to them through UNRRA, I shall vote for it as it is, with amendments to make it better or without amendments, because it seems to be the only possible, conceivable opportunity we are going to have as Americans to do something officially to help those suffering peoples in the unfortunate war-stricken areas of the world.

I regret that there has been such a complete bankruptcy of leadership on the part of this administration, that it cannot propose a more workable system for enabling Americans to give to Europe the relief they would like to see be made available through official action of this Government. I regret there is such a bull-headed attitude on the part of the administration of UNRRA, at least, that it resists any attempts by anybody to offer any corrective amendments of any kind. It assumes it cannot be made better, so it urges us to go along with it as it is.

Consequently it seems to me that this administration certainly must assume full and complete responsibility for the activities of UNRRA. For its success it should be commended if it does the job that they claim it will with this new \$2,000,000,000. For its failure it should be held responsible because of its reluctance even to accept amendments which Secretary of State Byrnes himself proposes as being acceptable. I refer you to the five amendments he

proposed on page 270 of the appropriation hearings on UNRRA. If the majority refuses to accept amendments and UNRRA does not give relief to the people it should, theirs is the responsibility.

What are the kinds of amendments that should help? I think the amendment which was called the "free press" amendment and which I think should be called the "full information" amendment if written into this bill will be helpful, because it would mean then that the spotlight of public opinion focused by impartial observance of the radio and press would concentrate itself on UNRRA to the point that there would not be a miscarriage of funds and misuse of supplies but, on the other hand, there would have to be a very careful adherence to the primary objectives of UNRRA. I am convinced from my experiences in Europe and from the observations I have made and from all the testimony before us, and I am speaking now about this new authorization and not the appropriation bill just approved by the Senate, that if we put some kind of full-information amendment in it will give more relief to more needy people in Europe more speedily delivered.

The second amendment that I think would be helpful is the one that the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. HERTER], offered in the consideration of the appropriation of \$550,000,000, a simple, direct, effective amendment, which states that the title and control of the trucks which UNRRA delivers to these countries shall be kept in the hands of UNRRA and the petroleum supplies directed by UNRRA, so that the use of the trucks would be limited to the purposes intended by UNRRA. Certainly that is going to mean more relief; certainly that is going to mean fewer politicians running around European highways in UNRRA trucks; it is going to mean fewer attempts on the part of foreign groups to misuse UNRRA trucks. In other words, the truck is going to be used to haul medicine, shelter, clothes, and food to the needy areas of those stricken lands. It will be interesting to note the arguments advanced to offset that amendment, but they will be advanced just the same.

The third amendment which I think is tremendously helpful would be one providing for impartial administrators of UNRRA missions. If you would like to find some pretty good support for that amendment, as I suggested it in committee, you can turn to the hearings on UNRRA and read pages 31, 32, and 33, of my interrogation of Mr. Clayton.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from South Dakota has expired.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman five additional minutes.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. Chairman, I proposed a policy which I think would be helpful, and Mr. Clayton agreed with it but said it should not be done by Congress, it ought to be done in some other way. Maybe next year after UNRRA is over with they might experiment with it, but it should not be done by Congress now. Surprisingly enough, every repre-

sentative of the State Department as well as the Governor of New York, every time the suggestion was made for the correction of an UNRRA fault—and they admitted it had many—said it should not be done by Congress. They do not feel that Congress should be in the picture except as it comes to opening up the spigot to the extent of \$2,000,000,000; that should be done by Congress. But none of the corrective measures, none of the experience gained by Members of Congress who observed UNRRA in action in Europe this summer, should be reflected in the bill. So Mr. Clayton said it should not be done by Congress. Poor Congress passes the bill but UNRRA writes the ticket. That is their creed.

I think that some such amendment like this should be included though this would not be the exact language, which would say that "no head of an UNRRA mission shall be selected from among the nationals of the country in which that particular mission is operating or from a country adjacent thereto."

This would increase the efficiency of UNRRA in Poland and Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia 200 percent. I think it is a good amendment. I am afraid it will not be adopted, and I am going to have to vote for UNRRA anyhow because it is the only chance we have to do something for those people, so I am going to string along. But I want the country to know that the responsibility for the failure of Congress to exercise its judgment and put in corrective legislation rests squarely with the administration of UNRRA which has stubbornly refused to permit the approval of a single corrective amendment in committee. There are other corrections which should also be written in. I hope this House will make the effort.

Mr. SADOWSKI. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. SADOWSKI. In order not to confuse the membership, since Poland has been mentioned, some may believe that a Russian is heading the UNRRA delegation in Poland. I want to say to the gentleman that the delegation in Poland is headed by a Canadian gentleman.

Mr. MUNDT. I would suggest that the gentleman be sure to date his remarks, because in August the head of the Polish delegation was a Russian. I asked one of the State Department officials this question, "Are you sure it is not going to be a Russian after Congress approves this bill?" and he said, "No; I am not sure." You will find that in the hearings. So I hope the distinguished gentleman will date his remarks. Today it is a Canadian, but he does not have a permanent assignment in Warsaw.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MUNDT. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. BLOOM. I would just like to say to my distinguished colleague that he asked Governor Lehman whether he would make a promise that a certain thing would not happen in the future. Does the gentleman not think that he

was trying to put him on the spot, as it were?

Mr. MUNDT. I was trying to.

Mr. BLOOM. And he was smart enough to not let you.

Mr. MUNDT. And I was worried about the reason back of his sagacious evasion.

Mr. BLOOM. The gentleman asked him to do something in the future. Of course, he could not do that. It might be necessary for the benefit of UNRRA to put someone in there, so do not blame Governor Lehman.

Mr. MUNDT. I am not blaming Governor Lehman. I am just quoting him. I want to say too that I do not object to Russians in charge of UNRRA missions. I think they certainly have a right to have their relative position and their relative responsibility, but it is not good policy to have them in charge in their own country and their own districts any more than it would be good policy in any other country to have nationals operating in countries adjacent to it.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from South Dakota has again expired.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I ask unanimous consent that the gentleman be given an additional minute.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Is it the gentleman's understanding that Governor Lehman has control of the personnel in the different countries, or is it voted upon by the Council?

Mr. MUNDT. It is my understanding, subject to correction by my chairman, that in a matter of that kind Governor Lehman would have control and that he would not have to take it up with the Council.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, if the gentleman will yield, I think it is more up to the Council than to the governor. I think the gentlewoman from Massachusetts will agree with me that Governor Lehman, who is the head of UNRRA, is trying to do a very, very good job. He is just as eager to have UNRRA be successful as anyone.

Mr. MUNDT. I certainly think he is trying to do a good job. I am sorry that the good job is not being achieved to a greater degree.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. But my contention is that he is controlled by the Council.

Mr. MUNDT. To that the chairman appears to agree with you.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from South Dakota has expired.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield 15 minutes to the gentlewoman from Illinois [Mrs. DOUGLAS].

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. Mr. Chairman, sitting here well fed, well clothed and shod, warm and comfortable, it is hard for us to realize that the lives of millions depend upon our action tomorrow. It is hard for us to face the fact

that men are dying of starvation and exposure, even as we debate this issue and make our neat points about the best ways of carrying out relief. If we postpone our decision, we shall increase the toll of death.

The weather is cold abroad and there are few homes with any heat. There are few people with adequate clothing and shoes and a comparatively small number with enough to eat. In a leisurely way we are considering the issue and proposing that if we bring bread, we could also demand that our newspaper men have the freedoms which we pride ourselves on in our mature democracy. In a way, however, to suggest that we would not give bread unless our newsmen received such freedoms, would be like saying that we would shoot the children of a town if its mayor is a tyrant. AS SENATOR VANDENBERG put it:

I am unable to make mercy an arbitrary hostage to the lifting of the iron curtain at this tragic moment in human history. * * * The iron curtain is in the control of governments. It is the people in these areas who die for want of bread.

There is urgency about UNRRA. The delay which has held up \$550,000,000 of our previous commitment has already created unnecessary hardships in the reorganization of UNRRA allocations. Procurement was suspended on more than \$49,000,000 of desperately needed supplies so that the bare essentials of food could be provided. Among the supplies which had to be dropped were vaccines for typhus and the plague, drugs, chemicals, and surgical dressings, amounting to more than \$6,000,000. Roofing material, corrugated steel for emergency shelters, shoes, clothing, repair equipment for farm machinery, and veterinary supplies. These were to have played an important part in equipping people against the rigors of winter and in preparing them to make the most of the spring crops. It was our slowness of action which forced the tragic reorganization and the cut in these supplies for UNRRA.

When the \$550,000,000 of our first authorization is finally available, more than half of it will be immediately committed for goods which should have been shipped weeks back. Before the end of December the total amount should be committed. Those shipments will carry UNRRA through January. That is as far as the funds will stretch. Unless we act favorably on the second assessment, UNRRA will have to fold up early in 1946. We must not delay our decision, moreover, or the pipe line will run dry. The average interval between the placing of an order against available funds and the delivery of the supplies to those for whom they are intended ranges from 2 months in the case of available foodstuffs to some 8 or 9 months in the case of supplies which must be processed or manufactured. There are some who criticize UNRRA for this delay, but justice should point out that there are shortages everywhere today and that UNRRA has no magic wand for overcoming these hurdles. If therefore we let the pipe line run dry, or decide never to fill it

again, we are delivering a cruel Christmas present to those peoples of the United Nations who have suffered every conceivable anguish in the last 4 years.

No one has been hungry in America because of the war. We continue to be the best fed people in the world and we eat from 3,000 to 4,000 calories of food a day while in Europe men are lucky if they receive one-half that amount. Shall we cut off even the niggardly rations which UNRRA insures to these hungry millions?

The new appropriation would be less than what we spent on 5 days of the war effort. This sum would carry the peoples through this grim winter and help them to help themselves through 1946. In the Far East the aid would extend through the first quarter of 1947.

As the only major power which was neither bombed nor invaded, we must bear the chief burden of relief. Where the war was fought, there is ruin, hunger, and desperation. On top of the disruption of 4 years of war, Europe suffered this year from the worst drought which it has known for a generation. Nature seemed to conspire against the feverish efforts to produce and the crops were shriveled from southern France through Italy and Greece. It is hard to measure the debt of the United Nations to those countries which made the supreme sacrifice in resisting the enemy and buying time for the rest of us to prepare. Little Greece held back the Fascist forces and then heroically took on the Nazi juggernaut of mechanized might. Similarly, Yugoslavia, spurning the safety of a compact with Hitler, which its rulers had secured, battled against impossible odds and with the most tragic losses. Again, we can never forget that Poland took the first stand against the enemy and was martyred in its fight, while Czechoslovakia was betrayed and turned over as the first spoils of Nazi victory. These countries have suffered excruciatingly. It would not only be inhuman to leave them today in their great need, but it would be a tragic mistake in statesmanship. It would mean abandoning these people to leaders who preach violent and totalitarian solutions to their problems. Certainly the Communists could then rightly claim that the democratic nations were a heartless, mercenary lot.

Some people argue that while relief is essential, the job should be carried out by another agency. There is no other agency to do the job. The International Red Cross, often suggested, refers to a group of agencies, one of which is the League of Red Cross Societies, which coordinates the activities of the national societies, but does not itself engage in relief operations. There is no International Red Cross organization to do the job, and if one of the conference agencies were asked to undertake it, it would have to recruit a new staff, reorganize its whole function, and in short, start to build an entirely new set-up. Moreover, it would have to negotiate with all the member nations of the Red Cross and of UNRRA. This would involve the added expenditure of further millions in organizing a vast new international agency.

It has been suggested by some that the Army could be given UNRRA's functions. General Eisenhower, rising from a sick bed on Thanksgiving Day to give his unqualified support to the continuance of UNRRA, made his answer on this. When hostilities are over, he declared, administrative work should be turned over to civilian agencies as rapidly as possible. Besides, he pointed out, in those very countries where UNRRA carries its major programs, Greece, Albania, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Poland, our troops have no excuse for appearing. One might ask, moreover, even if these countries were persuaded to allow our troops to enter, would the American public tolerate our boys being detained overseas to do this relief job? Even in Germany where our troops are performing administrative tasks, General Eisenhower explained that they were not equipped to carry out UNRRA's functions with the displaced persons. In one camp which he had visited, five babies had just been born, and he commented that his men were not trained for baby caring.

Having visited several of the displaced persons camps in both Germany and Italy, I saw his point. The UNRRA team which takes over the work of a DP camp is equipped with doctor, nurses, and welfare workers. Their functions range from screening the DP, which is essential since thousands of former Nazis are trying to turn into DP's and escape from Germany, carrying out the epidemic-control program, which includes delousing, vaccinations, and medical help, and caring for orphaned youngsters and rehabilitation of persons who have been demoralized through persecution and uprooting. There are young children who were torn from their homes, branded with a number and delivered to some German as farm hands or household laborers. They have forgotten their native language, and have known no kindness nor constructive help. The rehabilitation of such children and the tracing of surviving members of their families are among the human problems which the Army should not be asked to tackle.

Then there are those who say we should do all the relief work ourselves and should not cooperate with other nations in an international organization such as UNRRA. I am doubtful, however, whether these gentlemen would have the same enthusiasm for this plan when it came to paying the bills. For if we went it alone, then we would not get the \$533,000,000 which is the contribution of the other nations on each assessment. If we were to do the full job, our appropriations would have to be that much heavier and one can imagine the shrieks of indignation which would be leveled at the British Empire and the South American countries for not carrying their share. Of course, it is sometimes difficult to work with other countries, but during the war we found that we could cooperate with the British, the Dominions, and the Russians. In these days of the atom bomb, we certainly should show that we can work together to save lives. This is a goal for all men and women of good will, without regard to politics or ideology.

UNRRA is the first peacetime venture of the United Nations and for that reason alone, we must see that it succeeds. It would be a dismal omen for all future cooperation on more controversial and permanent projects if the United States pulled out of this humanitarian project even before the United Nations Organization is launched.

Today there is no agency but UNRRA to do the job. We have General Eisenhower's word moreover that from the administrative angle UNRRA is steadily improving. At first it had every disadvantage for it could get only the scrapings of the barrel after the Army was satisfied in supplies, shipping, and personnel. The conditions were so chaotic that General Eisenhower assured our committee that if he had been asked to do the job, he would have "thrown up his hands in helplessness." He said that under the handicaps UNRRA was given at the start, he considered it remarkable that they could make any progress. Since VJ-day the situation has changed completely. There are now surpluses, plenty of shipping and a chance to get the best personnel. For this reason there has been a general tightening up of the organization in the past 3 months and the services of some 600 of the European staff have been terminated. An erroneous press report recently spread the story that this reorganization was due to black-market manipulations. This, of course, was false and related to one Czech who is in prison for selling coffee on the black market and the arrest of another dozen who may be tried for similar manipulations. The discharge of the 600, however, was due rather to their lack of ability, illness, incompetence, and such less newsworthy causes. With the opportunity to get an improved staff, UNRRA cleaned house.

To quote General Eisenhower once more:

UNRRA has been infused with new and vigorous leadership in whom I have the fullest confidence. The British have made available to UNRRA my former Deputy Chief of Staff, General Morgan, and my former Chief Administrative Officer, General Gale, who are now in active charge of UNRRA operations in the field. These men, typical of the new leadership, are experienced administrators of unquestionable competence and I should like to add, of unquestionable integrity.

Even if we could speedily devise another mechanism, it would be doubtful if this new mechanism could show a lower administrative cost, for the administrative costs of UNRRA have run to only 2½ percent of the total expenditures. This is an extraordinarily low figure. The Director General takes no salary and even pays his own expenses, except for actual transportation costs. Other administrative costs are cut to the bone because the actual distribution of materials is turned over to the various local governments and agencies. For UNRRA itself to conduct the actual distribution would of course involve a colossal budget and an enormous bureaucracy. While at times the functioning of these local agencies is imperfect due to the chaotic conditions which come in the wake of war, yet that very functioning has often had a bene-

ficial byproduct in building up again the local agencies which must carry on.

I have myself visited a number of these local institutions which use UNRRA supplies, such as schools and orphanages in Italy, where meals are provided by UNRRA, factories where supplementary foods are available to nursing and expectant mothers and undernourished children, a preventorium out of Athens, run by a benevolent society, and so forth.

There are those who are ready to attack UNRRA on the ground that the amount which is expected to be allotted to China is too small in comparison with its own needs and with the allotments to Europe. May I remind these gentlemen that the Chinese Government is planning to spend an amount approximately equal to the part UNRRA provides. The total will be somewhere between eight hundred million and one billion dollars. If these gentlemen still do not think this is enough, which is probably correct, then there is an easy way for them to show their concern. Let them prepare an amendment to increase the total authorization by two hundred millions or more and earmark it for the Chinese. I, for one, would support such an amendment.

But the real trouble lies deeper. Nearly everyone gives lip service to the principle that we should help to feed the starving and care for the sick. But the instant we start to do it, then the brickbats begin to fly. We hear incessant and carping criticism on petty details of administration and attempts to discredit the work of saving the lives of tens of millions because out of the 8,000 UNRRA employees there have been some incompetents and a few rogues. Worst of all, there has been a constant attempt to delay action by trying to spin out the hearings to an interminable length and to keep the issue from being considered by the House and Senate. Although Congress convened 3 months ago, it has not yet passed upon the final appropriation under our first authorization. When this new authorization is passed, we shall have to repeat the process to secure a new appropriation. In the meantime, tens of thousands may die of starvation and exposure. The gentlemen who are delaying action, of course, all subscribe to the Ten Commandments, one of which says "Thou shalt not kill." Some of their actions, however, fit that cynical version of the commandments by Arthur Clough which advises:

Thou shalt not kill, but needst not strive
Officiously to keep alive.

In the Christmas season above all others let us make haste with our help. Let us not dawdle while men, women, and children die.

Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. STEFAN].

Mr. STEFAN. Mr. Chairman, considerable has been said on the floor this afternoon that UNRRA is perhaps the only agency that can do the job. I have a message that may bring a great deal of disappointment to many of you who heard our colleague, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. HERTER] speak of

another organization encouraged by UNRRA and by the Department of State, an organization which was endeavoring to supplement UNRRA in caring for some of the badly needed relief in Europe. I refer to the organization known as CARE, an organization set up to handle remittances and shipments to Europe. It was hoped that Mr. Donald Nelson, former Director of the War Production Board, would head this organization, but I am very sorry to report that following considerable research on my part I am afraid that organization is doomed to failure because of the many obstacles that have been placed in its path.

About September or October of this year UNRRA purchased from the United States Army about \$100,000,000 worth of surplus food. That surplus included 7,700,000 cases of what is known as 10-in-1 rations. This package is so well sealed, I have been informed, that it will withstand water for many days, even though submerged. It contains 10 breakfasts, 10 dinners, and 10 suppers, all well-balanced meals. We were first informed that UNRRA was willing to transfer these 7,700,000 cases of 10-in-1 rations to this proposed organization in which over 32 nonprofit agencies of the United States were interested. It was intended that those of you who were anxious to send a package of food to relatives, to loved ones, or to friends in Central Europe not serviced by UNRRA would be able to do so by merely furnishing this organization the name and address of those people you wanted to help, and a package would be delivered by this organization.

Mr. BLOOM. Would the money have to go with it?

Mr. STEFAN. Absolutely. This would have to be paid for. I do not know whether the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs knows anything about this organization or not.

Mr. BLOOM. I do.

Mr. STEFAN. All right. Has UNRRA paid the Army \$100,000,000 for this food as yet?

Mr. BLOOM. I just wanted to let the gentleman give the committee the benefit of the facts. He said all they have to do is to give the name and address. They would have to pay money.

Mr. STEFAN. Yes; certainly. Hundreds, thousands, or millions of Americans would be willing to pay for a package of that food to feed some starving human beings somewhere in the world. As I understand it, UNRRA approved this organization, and the President's board approved it. The fact of the matter is, I have a letter from the President's board indicating that Donald Nelson had accepted the directorship of this organization and had already begun to work on it; but today I am informed that because this organization is unable to get these packages, in spite of the fact they were promised the packages, according to the information I have received, it will be unable to operate. I am very sorry to report that to the chairman of the committee.

Mr. HERTER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STEFAN. I am glad to yield to the gentleman, who knows more about the matter than I do.

Mr. HERTER. Is it not true that Mr. Donald Nelson came all the way from the Pacific coast to Washington yesterday in the hope of starting this organization, then found the situation very different from the way it was presented to him a few days ago?

Mr. STEFAN. The gentleman is correct. Donald Nelson was promised 7,700,000 cases of these rations.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Nebraska has expired. Mr. EATON. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman five additional minutes.

Mr. STEFAN. Mr. Chairman, when he arrived in Washington he was told he could have only 1,000,000 of these cases of 10-in-1 rations. To be fair to UNRRA, I understand that 4,000,000 of those cases are somewhere in transit, that 1,000,000 cases or 2,000,000 cases are on the way; but if at one time they had given Mr. Donald Nelson encouragement to come to Washington to head this organization they certainly should have carried out their promise.

Mr. HERTER. Does not the gentleman feel that the millions of Americans who have heard about this through the press should be advised just what has happened in this situation, and the fact that even the gentleman and myself cannot ascertain how those packages came to be shipped, where they are now and why they are no longer available?

Mr. STEFAN. The gentleman is absolutely correct and he is saying something which really caused me to take the floor to talk to you today about this matter. I have received hundreds of letters from my constituents who had heard about these packages, who had heard about this organization, who are willing to send their checks and their money to this organization in order that they might participate and help supplement UNRRA relief.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. STEFAN. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Does not that confirm my statement and belief that there should be some check-up of this organization called UNRRA, some sort of intelligence used as to what is being done and where these packages have gone?

Mr. STEFAN. The gentlewoman from Massachusetts is absolutely right. We all want to help, but we want information and the American people want information. They are anxious to help and certainly we should have more information about this organization in which so many charitable, nonprofit organizations of the United States are interested, and I take the floor at this time to advise the membership of the House that I cannot intelligently reply to letters I have received from my constituents because I cannot secure dependable information. Certainly Donald Nelson, who has endeavored to head this organization, who has had some encouragement, should get more encouragement from the House of Representatives.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Has the State Department or Mr. Lehman or anyone in the State Department given the gentleman any information?

Mr. STEFAN. Yes. Colonel Wood came to me today.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. What did he tell the gentleman?

Mr. STEFAN. He indicated that these packages are not in Europe at this time.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Why not?

Mr. STEFAN. However, 4,000,000 are on the way, he indicates, and 2,000,000 additional are somewhere on the way, but he could not give me the information as to where they are located.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. It is a situation that is inexcusable to me.

Mr. HERTER. The gentleman, I am sure, is familiar with the fact that the State Department has done everything it could to further this scheme and that they have encouraged it in every way possible.

Mr. STEFAN. That was confirmed in my conference with Colonel Wood. They are doing everything they possibly can to encourage this.

Mr. HERTER. Is it not also true that the State Department secured permission from some 12 foreign countries to admit these packages free of duty in anticipation of this service being inaugurated.

Mr. STEFAN. That is, absolutely the case.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Nebraska has expired.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may require to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. GORDON].

UNRRA IN POLAND AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Chairman, I am going to vote for the passage of the UNRRA bill. My recent official visit to Europe as a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, gave me an opportunity to observe personally the great need for relief, which can only be met by this organization. I concur fully in the statements made to our committee on last Thanksgiving Day by General Eisenhower, and by other witnesses who appeared before us, and I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD.

The plight of the people in Poland and Czechoslovakia today is one that cries out to every person in the civilized world, who is in a position to send them help. Poland was the first country to suffer the ravages of total warfare. It was the battleground for almost 6 years. The armies surged back and forth across it with all the horrors of modern warfare. In my visit to Poland last summer, I found that 90 percent of the country, particularly the capital city, Warsaw, was demolished. The only building that stood out in fairly good condition was the Polonia Hotel, where we made our quarters. This building was saved because it was used as the Gestapo headquarters.

The Czechoslovak Republic was one of the first to be overrun by the Nazis and, by bitter coincidence, was the last country in Europe to be liberated. This fact,

which resulted from the country's geographical position in central Europe, made it hard for the liberated allies to reach and has made it equally difficult for the relief and rehabilitation supplies of UNRRA to reach the stricken people.

The United States has always been a generous nation. Time and again we have proved it after war, famine, and disaster. There is no reason why we should change now. These countries are our allies; they need our help.

This country has joined with 46 others of the Allied Nations to see that the starved and homeless destitute millions of Poland and Czechoslovakia are saved. I had an opportunity to actually see the beginning of this great deliverance campaign in Poland and Czechoslovakia. Admittedly the physical destruction of transportation and supply lines made confusion and waste in the initial stages of this operation. Reports reaching me now indicate that drastic changes in personnel and the opening of the ports of Danzig and Gdynia to replace the cumbersome and inefficient overland transportation from Constanta have greatly improved the picture.

What is the situation in Poland today? First and most important is the food shortage. By December 1, 1945, shipments have reached a total of 307,000 tons, costing nearly \$164,000,000. The need is still far from being met. Reliable persons who have surveyed the situation agree that, left to itself, Poland would have only half enough food for bare existence for its population, at least until the harvest of vegetables and fruits next summer. Even this pitifully small amount cannot be distributed equitably over the country. In some of the agricultural sections the populace will not be too badly off. In the large industrial centers the situation is desperate.

The estimates of food needs are predicted on restoration of agricultural production next crop year. But merely anticipating a crop is one thing, and planting and harvesting it is a far different problem.

Not only was Poland's internal transport ruined but also its tools and capacity for food production were ruined by the invader. Draft animals for use on farms and for hauling produce to market were taken away by the thousands. Farm establishments were systematically dynamited and burned with all the tools, clothing, and bedding they contained. Dairy cattle were confiscated or killed. Poultry is virtually completely gone. Feed grain and seeds were ruthlessly requisitioned. Along the main roads farm tools and equipment were seized by the invading settlers whom the Germans picked to occupy the conquered land.

So, if Poland is to produce next year any substantial supplies of food for itself, as many as possible of these operating tools and equipment must be replaced now.

There are other needs in addition to food production, and just as urgent, but not as large. Supplies of new clothing in the country have been nonexistent for 6 years. The same is true of shoes and bedding.

The health situation is extremely bad. Tuberculosis, malnutrition, the ailments of war and exposure, and venereal disease are common, particularly among the displaced-persons group. There have been outbreaks of typhus. As part of the work of its mission, UNRRA experts are helping the Polish Government to fight these health menaces and the fight is backed with the ammunition of hundreds of tons of medical and sanitation supplies.

An UNRRA staff is in Europe now to acquire Army surplus materials for building, trucks, and fuel to restore 45 hospitals and 45 convalescent homes in Poland.

Czechoslovakia's main prewar route for imports was the Elbe-Vitava River system. This will not be usable until next summer. The railroad from German seaports into the Republic has just been opened and it brings only a trickle of supplies. In the meantime food, clothing, and medical supplies so badly needed have had to take a long sea voyage to the Rumanian Black Sea port of Constanta and a long haul over a single-track railroad to their destination.

The country's 8,000-mile railroad network is largely out of commission. Seven hundred and forty railroad bridges were destroyed and only 12,000 freight cars remain out of the prewar total of 97,000. Prewar truck ownership of 110,000 vehicles averaging 2 tons capacity was reduced to 13,000, with little fuel being available for them.

To meet the crisis in distribution of both home-grown and UNRRA food, UNRRA is sending in thousands of trucks. Most of these trucks are derived from military surplus obtainable in Europe. They will make possible the distribution of great quantities of food in remote sections of the country this fall before winter closes the damaged roads.

Before the war the Republic raised about 70 percent of its own food, the main imports being animal fats and wheat. The vampire economy practiced by the Nazis resulted in a grave deficiency of most of its foodstuffs and fodder. Furthermore, 1945 harvests are down 25 to 50 percent from normal. Resources of cattle and hogs are estimated at only 50 percent. For 6 years there has been no fertilizer. Tractors and farm manpower alike were driven out by the Germans and Russians for their own uses. Trucks and other forms of transport, including railroad rolling stock, were confiscated.

Among the foods being sent in are wheat, flour, canned fish, lard, dried peas and beans, and sugar, as well as a variety of other commodities in lesser amounts. Raw cotton and textiles are flowing in and will be used in Czech factories producing cloth and clothing.

That the Czechoslovak people are grateful for all this assistance is unquestioned. Jan Masaryk, Minister of Foreign Affairs for Czechoslovakia, voiced the gratitude of the nation. He said:

We in Czechoslovakia are very, very grateful to UNRRA. UNRRA came in time; even a little sooner than we expected. There was still fighting in the eastern part of our coun-

try, and victory was moving toward Prague when the people of UNRRA arrived. In eastern Slovakia there was definite starvation. For about 10 days the people were getting nothing except a bit of very inferior bread. UNRRA came with meat, fats, prunes, and also even coffee. Then medical supplies have been mentioned. We were at the threshold of a typhus and typhoid epidemic. We got penicillin and other drugs in time, and a disastrous situation was averted.

My concern for the suffering people in these war-torn countries urges me to ask for immediate passage of the total authorization provided in this bill without any hampering amendments. Delay means untold prolongation of human misery, disease, and death.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Illinois [Mrs. DOUGLAS].

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. Mr. Chairman, since there has been an attack today on the character of Oscar Lange, one-time resident of Chicago and now Polish Ambassador, I think in fairness one statement should be nailed at once. There could be no question of military service for Mr. Lange since he has a badly crippled foot.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. FLOOD].

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Chairman, the time has come to indicate to the committee at this late hour in today's debate that this is not an appropriation bill. This is merely an authorization bill and all of the procedure incident to appearance and hearings before the fiscal committee are yet to be made. I think the committee, and later the House, should keep that fact in mind. I do not see the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. JONKMAN]. I would like to point out that the British Government has already appropriated 1 percent of its national income for 1943 and was the first government of the United Nations to make the appropriation for this second contribution to UNRRA. The British Government has appropriated \$300,000,000 and they had already paid in sixty million of that three hundred million. It was indicated by the Council in London that as soon as the United States took action it would rapidly be followed by all of the other member nations, because they have shown a policy and a tendency in all matters, with rare exception, to follow the precedent and leadership set by the United States at Council meetings and generally this has been indicated by the voting, as I have been advised. In further reply to the gentleman from Michigan, I would like to indicate that it is true that the balance of \$180,000,000 remaining unpaid in the first contribution consists chiefly of sterling from the United Kingdom contribution, but there is very clear reason why. On page 106 of the hearings it is fully explained in reply to Mr. JONKMAN's question in committee by Governor Lehman. I now read from Mr. Lehman's statement:

Status of funds received from other countries: You will recall that in addition to the \$300,000,000 already made available by the United States, there has been made available from other contributing countries the sum of \$485,000,000. The status of those funds is—

1. Spent for supplies, mission operating expenses, displaced persons operations, and administration management, \$183,000,000.

2. Obligated for supplies for delivery in November and December, \$122,000,000.

3. The balance of \$180,000,000 consisting chiefly of sterling from the United Kingdom contribution will be spent for commodities in Great Britain. It will be appreciated, I am sure, that the supply position of the United Kingdom and other countries, with the exception of Canada which has made available its full contribution, all of which has been spent, is less favorable than that of the United States and that the range of commodities, particularly in foodstuffs, which can be bought with sterling, is extremely limited.

Therefore, if UNRRA is to do the job for which it was created and not suspend its work at the time when the very lives of millions of men, women, and children depend upon it, an additional 1-percent contribution from the member governments will be imperative before the end of 1945.

I hold no brief for the British Government—my great, great grandparents on both sides of my family would probably turn over in their graves if they heard me defend Great Britain here. The fact remains, however, that I have great admiration for the job done by the brave British people and the British Empire during this war, and certainly it is difficult, if not impossible, for Great Britain to supply the food and use that sterling silver to supply those foodstuffs of which she is so gravely short herself.

I cannot think of a better reason for the United States of America to accelerate at this time our assurance to Great Britain and the other allies of the United Nations that because of the conditions that exist in those countries, even if they have not paid the last blood dollar they agreed to contribute, that the United States of America should indicate her willingness to make our additional contribution and at once. This is not the time for Uncle Sam to become Uncle Shylock and demand the last pound of flesh as a condition precedent to our taking action on this bill at this time. If my friend from Michigan is merely stating for the RECORD his objections to the bookkeeping methods of UNRRA and to the manner in which their statistical division sets up charts then, of course, I have no quarrel with him, but I must insist, however, that I most vehemently disagree with him if his remarks are intended as an argument against the passage of this legislation.

I say further that I gathered the impression from the gentleman from Wisconsin that he was casting an aspersion upon the loyalty and the integrity of the Foreign Service of our State Department and the fiscal office of UNRRA. May I say in reply to that that if the gentleman meant there was any deep-dyed conspiracy that existed in the Fiscal or Budget Departments of the State Department and UNRRA deliberately to draw a picture beneficial to Great Britain, if he implied dishonesty or disloyalty by anybody in those departments, that was ungracious, unfounded, and as an understatement, I can say unkind indeed.

I have the honor of being a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs and I sat through those hearings for 3 weeks.

No place at any time did any witness indicate even remotely or indirectly that possibility. That is nothing but a creature of the gentleman's imagination. I am afraid the General Hurley incident is causing a lot of people to look with apprehension under a lot of beds.

Mr. **HERTER**. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. **FLOOD**. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. **HERTER**. Will the gentleman identify the gentleman from Wisconsin to whom he refers.

Mr. **FLOOD**. Mr. **JONKMAN**. Did I say Wisconsin?

Mr. **HERTER**. Mr. **JONKMAN** is from Michigan.

Mr. **FLOOD**. I beg the gentleman's pardon. Mr. **JONKMAN** of course is a credit to either State. I regret that time will not permit me to reply to the gentleman from South Dakota [Mr. **MUNDT**]. Many of his remarks I was most anxious to rebut but neither his nor my time allotment will permit. This is, most lamentable because of his attack on certain phases of UNRRA.

I rise in support of the bill now before the House, H. R. 4649, to enable the United States to further participate in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. This calls for the additional contribution by this Nation of \$1,350,000,000, on the same basis as the other members are to contribute, 1 percent of the estimated 1943 income. At this point I would like to emphasize that UNRRA is not an American organization; it is not an agency set up by the United States alone. UNRRA is a vast international organization in which the United States participates in direct ratio to its national income and with the fact ever in mind that the United States was not a nation suffering enemy invasion.

I shall support the bill as it was reported to the House without amendment and respectfully and most earnestly urge the House to do likewise. As a member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, I sat through three long weeks of daily hearings on this most important legislation, and listened to an array of informed and impressive and distinguished witnesses earnestly advocating the passage of this bill with all possible dispatch in order that the purpose of UNRRA, with which no one disagrees, be served.

Many harsh things have been said against the manner in which UNRRA has been operating. And undoubtedly many additional will be added. I hold no brief for badly selected personnel or whatever inefficiency may have existed or for whatever other well-founded criticisms have been and will be presented here. My wonder is not that some fault can be found, but rather that under all of the seemingly unsurmountable obstacles so much good was accomplished. Again it can be said, "Never have so many been indebted to so few."

I do not propose to argue and debate with any of my colleagues their views on this or that incident of fault, fact, or fiction. Let me say that many of the same utterly fantastic rumors and deliberate falsehoods that were whispered

and shouted about lend-lease are being now bandied about with reference to UNRRA—and of course by the same people and I suppose for the same unpleasant purposes. Of each of these evil ones I say in paraphrase, "And still the wonder grew how a mind so small could contain all he knew." It is a great compliment to all men that the number of these is inconsequential—quantitatively and qualitatively.

But, by the same token, I listen with attention and respect to those who have at heart the great humanitarian purpose of UNRRA, but offer honest and sincere criticism to the end that the desired purpose be best served.

But I hope, as well, that the interesting, academic, and administrative problems that, of necessity must develop in considering a plan such as this, will not be so inviting as to forget that time is of the essence in the authorization of this additional sum. People the world over are starving. Already it is too late to save some—many more can never be saved if this bill were to become law in the next 2 minutes instead of the next 2 months. This House just passed the legislation necessary to meet the United States obligation to which we stood committed on the initial contribution \$500,000,000—to fail to finish this task would be the world's outstanding example of bad management if nothing else. And let it never be forgotten by my practical-minded friends who claim they are not their brother's keeper, that the UNRRA appropriations from their point of view are the cheapest possible premiums this Nation can get on an insurance policy to help in the struggle for United States and world peace and security. This is my answer to those who think they devastate the proponents of this bill with the platitude smugly mouthed, "You cannot buy friendship." Well, my counting-house companions, you surely can have no objections to buying a little insurance. There is more than one way to look at Napoleon's famous remark that "An army marches on its stomach."

Never before in the history of mankind have men been called upon to solve a relief problem of greater magnitude and complexity than that resulting from the present war. Even if UNRRA had functioned in absolute perfection from its inception, a condition no sane person would impose, under the circumstances of its birth, the problem as of today, and the prospective problem, in the same field, for the next year and one-half, at least, would still remain to be met and concluded with some degree of completeness. UNRRA's financial crisis has snowballed as a result of ever-increasing demands that far exceed original expectations. China alone has requested \$900,000,000 and a big request forthcoming from deserving Poland. Much of this difficulty is due to the fact that the original program was laid out before the liberation of the countries now in need of most aid and no accurate measure of the devastation in those areas was possible. For the same reasons, administrative costs have been greater than anticipated. This is just as good a point as any to dwell further on the matter of admin-

istrative expenses for UNRRA. Too little answer has been given to the too unfounded criticism of this phase of UNRRA. Here, as is always the case, with rare exceptions, an examination of the facts will disclose that UNRRA is to be praised rather than abused for its record. And I refer to the hearings before the Foreign Affairs Committee, pages 81 and 82. At that point in the hearings Governor Lehman, the Director General of UNRRA, testified under examination that less than 2½ percent of the expenditures of UNRRA went to administrative expenses and at no time, regardless of whether the percentage was figured on the amount paid in or the amount authorized, did the figure exceed 3 percent. That is a commendable record and compares favorably with any like governmental program, even excepting the herculean problems confronting UNRRA from its beginning up to this moment.

I would like at this time, Mr. Chairman, to insert in my remarks that portion of the record of the hearings dealing with the matter of administrative expenses:

Chairman **BLOOM**, Mr. **EATON**.

Mr. **EATON**. Governor, I was going to raise another question that was raised in your early testimony before this committee with respect to one movement, at least, and that was helping people to help themselves, but I am not going to raise that question now.

I do want to raise one other question: I have no doubt in the world that the desire of the people to help these distressed people through this terrible winter season is absolutely normal among the American people. It is not a question of legal obligation. Our people traditionally have had that spirit of brotherhood and help in times of need regardless of race or creed; that has always been a part of the spirit of the American people. That is the basis upon which we face this situation and facing it we have got to answer a very practical question. We are now face to face with this winter. There are other people who propose finishing the program at the end of 1946 in Europe, and people will and are raising this question in and out of Congress, and we have got to consider it seriously. UNRRA has had a billion dollars or more since the time it was created and now actually finds itself having no money, and to use your classic expression, finds itself broke.

The question our people will raise is, What has happened to all these billions of dollars that have been raised; what proportion of that has been spent for administration and salaries and expenditures of that sort, and how much of that could have been saved and used now before we go on to make further demands upon our resources? That may sound somewhat materialistic, but it is a question that must be answered in the minds of the general population of this country.

Mr. **LEHMAN**. I think that is a very practical question, of course. My figures are based on the assumption that we will get the \$550,000,000.

Mr. **EATON**. We are morally obligated for that, and of course, we must keep our agreement.

Mr. **LEHMAN**. My figures are based on the receipt and expenditure of the entire \$1,883,000,000. That includes the contributions of this country, the United Kingdom, Canada, and other countries.

Chairman **BLOOM**. The amounts that have been allocated or authorized, not the amount appropriated.

Mr. **LEHMAN**. No.

Mr. **EATON**. It includes the \$550,000,000.

Mr. LEHMAN. From November 1943, when UNRRA was organized, through the end of 1945, our administrative expenses are estimated to be \$16,600,000; our mission operating expenses—that is, the expenses of the missions in the field—are estimated at \$24,300,000 for the same period of time.

Mr. EATON. That is \$40,000,000 plus.

Mr. LEHMAN. That is \$41,000,000, which, on the basis of \$1,883,000,000, would be less than 2½ percent.

Mr. MUNDT. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. EATON. Yes.

Mr. MUNDT. What would the percentage of expenditures for administrative expenses be if you use the base—the money which has actually been expended—rather than the base of the total amount, some of which has never been paid into UNRRA as yet?

Mr. LEHMAN. On the basis of the \$1,300,000,000 that has actually been paid in, the expenses would be the same, of course, but the percentage would be different.

Mr. MUNDT. The percentage would be different?

Mr. LEHMAN. The percentage would be about 3 percent.

Mr. MUNDT. Has the \$1,300,000,000 all been spent?

Mr. LEHMAN. All of the American portion has been spent or committed. We have some balances in some of the other countries which are rapidly being spent.

Mr. MUNDT. The point I am trying to make, Governor, is that in order to determine the percentage of administrative expenses you should use the basis, not the amount that has been authorized in the program but the money that has been paid in—the money that has actually been utilized in relation to operation. Would not that give us a better percentage then for judging the efficiency of UNRRA's administrative operations?

Mr. LEHMAN. Well, Congressman, I am not going to argue the question very long because there is not a sufficient difference between 2½ and 3 percent, but I would like to point out that I do not agree with your reasoning, if I may. After all, we are operating on the assumption, and have been operating on the assumption that we are going to have \$1,880,000,000, and we have had to make our preparations on that basis. We have to have the operating division; we have to have the accounting division; we have to have the field missions; we have to have them just the same for \$1,300,000,000 as for \$1,880,000,000, particularly when you consider that \$550,000,000 of it is to come from the United States, and, of course, we have been counting on that amount.

So the figures I have given you are through the calendar year 1945, and certainly, in my opinion, any calculation should be based on the amount which we will have spent by the end of this year.

Mr. MUNDT. I still think, although that is the practical answer to Mr. EATON's pending question, that you should utilize a percentage figure based on the actual expenditures in relieving the needs for Europe.

If you utilize this supposititious basis, you might as well include in the administrative percentage cost the amount that would be involved in the anticipated amount.

Mr. LEHMAN. The percentage would be about the same with respect to the \$1,880,000,000. But as I say, I do not want to take up the time of the committee arguing the question, because so far as I am concerned, 3 percent is mighty good, and it makes little difference whether it is 2½ or 3 percent. But I do want to state that we have gone into China, Greece, Yugoslavia, Albania, and Czechoslovakia, and other countries, and we have set up our various organizations on the assumption we would get all the funds pledged. We could not wait until the situation was right on top of us to make our plans.

Some of the Four Horsemen still ride. UNRRA is fighting hunger, cold, and disease. The best argument for UNRRA is the humanitarian one. We do not want to live in a world in which the innocent are allowed to starve, freeze, and lie unattended when they are ill. Some Members of the House oppose UNRRA because they think it inefficiently managed. Others, sad to relate, but, oh, so few, thank the good Lord watching over this honorable body, make the hard-hearted argument that it is not our business to "feed the world." UNRRA at best will not "feed the world." Putting in the \$500,000 we were honor bound to do means that some people who might have died will stay alive. Some of them will stay alive on horse meat, whale meat, blood sausage, and herring, about half the fats and dairy products they need, about one-fifth the sugar they need. This great democratic forum is not the mart to trade in human suffering. If we put another \$1,350,000 into it—1 percent of our estimated 1943 income—the saving in life will be greater.

Despite its slowness in getting started, its difficulties in finding ships and cargoes, the political obstacles placed in its path in some countries, and some weaknesses in personnel now corrected by a hard-hitting, efficient personnel section, UNRRA has rescued perishing human beings in half a dozen countries, and in recent months its bulk achievements have grown rapidly.

Remember that 35 countries, spread over Europe and Asia and containing more than half a billion people, have passed under the Axis yoke. They have been robbed of their wealth, their economies have been destroyed, and their peoples today are in semistarvation. But even UNRRA does not intend to distribute to these sufferers "the fat of the land." The specified food tonnage will not restore diets to prewar levels but would provide only 2,000 to 2,650 calories per day. The 2,000-calorie level is considered the minimum for life without real hardship, disease, and want. The American standard for office workers is 3,000 and for physical workers 3,500. And millions upon millions of persons are now living in these distressed areas on 1,400 to 1,700 calories per day.

The older generation is ravaged by disease and hunger; typhus and tuberculosis are spreading; malnutrition threatens to maim the younger generation for life. Tons of food, medicine, and clothes and other materials will have to be channeled to liberated Europe and the Far East where alone a population in China greater than the entire population of the United States are now desperately in need of relief. This is the relief part of UNRRA.

Who will take the responsibility for the continuation of this tremendous task? Who will see to it that a hope for freedom from want and fear is given people, so that instead of desperate social conflict, there will be the normal living and thinking that makes a stable world, a hope of establishing the production of foods and other goods, acceptable community and political organizations and governments to provide for the reconstruction of their

own countries? Who will pay for the seeds, the wool, the cotton, the plows, the flour, and the serum to prevent epidemics that are no respecters of national or geographic boundaries and might be expected to spread to other nations and consequently represent a hazard to the entire world. This is the rehabilitation part of UNRRA.

Yesterday, there was passed in the Senate of the United States, certain phases of the great Charter of international security signed by the United States at San Francisco. But that Charter, as yet, is only a promise. If any of the member nations fall prey to famine and pestilence, there can be no security for any of us. Our responsibility is clear. We of the United Nations who have suffered least from the cataclysm of war must continue our efforts to provide out of our resources the means to meet the continuing crisis. This requires supplies and equipment. Kindly expressions will not feed empty stomachs, nor grow food nor cure and prevent sickness. Relief means food, clothes, medicine. Rehabilitation means supplies and equipment, and they all mean money.

The words of President Truman on October 11, 1945, in his letter of transmittal to Congress of the fourth report of UNRRA defines the United States position on this world significant program:

Through UNRRA the United States is making and will make its contribution for relief to the liberated peoples. In order that these people may move ahead toward the tremendous task of reconstruction, they must have the basic materials to regain their strength. Where we at home have shortages and inconveniences, millions in other lands lack even the bare necessities of life. Life abroad in the coming winter will depend upon the outside assistance which this country and other countries can render to the liberated peoples.

UNRRA, struggling as it has in the face of world deficits of critical supplies and of shipping, has made a substantial beginning in the immense task of relief and rehabilitation. The more this task can be speeded up through the early delivery of vitally needed supplies, the sooner it will be possible for UNRRA to withdraw, leaving the liberated peoples on a firm footing to carry on their own life. The Government of the United States and the other members of UNRRA are meeting this common problem as the United Nations are attempting to meet other world problems—together and to the best of their respective abilities.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Pennsylvania has expired.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. KEE].

Mr. KEE. Mr. Chairman, the issue before us today may be in some respects controversial, but it is certainly not complicated. The sole question for our determination is whether or not the United States Government will continue to act with the other members of United Nations in prosecuting the task of relieving the distressed and starving peoples of the devastated countries of the world, or whether we will cease all further effort and leave these distressed peoples to their fate.

Not one of us is unaware of the widespread suffering now extant in every land

subjected to the ravages of the recently terminated war. Not one of us has not for months, and time and time again, had presented to him vivid stories of the terrible condition now existing throughout Europe from the English Channel to the Dardanelles, in both near and far eastern Asia and in all lands, the soils of which were marked by the marching feet of a ruthless invader. That these unfortunate conditions exist is an undisputed fact. The situation has been shown by the testimony of witnesses who have but recently returned from the various countries affected and who testified from a knowledge gained through observation and personal contact with the suffering peoples.

The proposal before us is not for the appropriation of an initial contribution of the United States to UNRRA, the international organization for relief of the devastated countries, but it proposes a duplication of this country's former contribution of \$1,350,000,000 for a continuation of the work already in progress and not yet completed.

The United States is not the only government called upon for this additional contribution. On the contrary, each and every one of the other 46 members of United Nations will again give 1 percent of its national income to this great cause—the relief of human suffering.

The resolution under consideration was referred, on its introduction in the House, to the Foreign Affairs Committee. That committee has held extensive hearings, beginning on November 14 and ending on November 23 last. The committee gave an opportunity to be heard to every individual who desired to speak upon the subject, either as favoring or in opposition to the proposal. It is indeed significant that out of all of the witnesses appearing before the committee there was but one who offered any opposition whatever to the resolution. It is also significant that this one opposing witness neither questions the immediate and pressing need for relief nor offered objection to an appropriation by Congress for that purpose, but his opposition stemmed solely from his personal objection to the international character of UNRRA, the organization in responsible charge of carrying on the work. The one and only suggestion of this opposing witness was that this work of relief to all of the suffering peoples of the world should be done by the United States alone, and not through the agency of any other organization.

Mrs. LUCE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. KEE. I yield.

Mrs. LUCE. Like so many Members of the House, I am heartily in favor of the purposes of this bill, and will support it. But I would like to ask the gentleman if he could give me a piece of information. Can he explain how and why the Chinese appropriation under UNRRA is so small per capita compared with the appropriation made to other beneficiary countries. I am told, for example, that Albania is getting \$22.42 per capita; Yugoslavia, \$27.84 per capita; and Greece, \$52.45 per capita; but that the Chinese people, of whose need and

suffering the gentleman has just spoken so eloquently and who have been longest in the war, are getting only \$1.25 per capita. Will the gentleman tell me how that per capita decision was reached?

Mr. KEE. I believe if the gentlewoman will read the hearings and the testimony, I think, of Governor Lehman, that is fully explained. Possibly, and I am making this as a personal observation, it is explained by the tremendous population of China. It would be the same, perhaps, if it were in India due to the tremendous population and the difficulty of making an allocation equal to the population of the entire country.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from West Virginia has expired.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield five additional minutes to the gentleman.

Mrs. LUCE. Is it then the gentleman's conception that our purpose under UNRRA is to feed people on a strictly mathematical, or population basis, and not according to need?

Mr. KEE. No, indeed. It is my understanding that authorities who know and who are well advised were taken into consultation regarding this allocation and that the allocation was fixed on an equitable basis.

Mrs. LUCE. But the gentleman himself has just said the decision was reached upon the population basis.

Mr. KEE. Oh, no; I beg the gentlewoman's pardon.

Mrs. LUCE. Then it was reached on the question of need?

Mr. KEE. I beg the gentlewoman's pardon. She is mistaken. I did not make that statement. I said that was a personal view of my own that perhaps population had something to do with it.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KEE. I yield.

Mr. BLOOM. Before VJ-day, the ports of China were not open at all, so we could not get anything in there. But if the gentlewoman will read on page 9 the report on China, I think she will get the information she wants. But this new authorization, of course, will call for a redesignation of funds for China.

Mrs. LUCE. Can the gentleman tell me how much still remains not allocated, which might still go to China?

Mr. BLOOM. That, I cannot say.

Mrs. LUCE. The figures given me are \$179,000,000 still unallocated under the tentative program of UNRRA operations. Would that be substantially correct?

Mr. BLOOM. It may be, if that is the figure that was given to the gentlewoman by UNRRA. It might be correct. But I would want to say when you refer to India that India has contributed to UNRRA.

Mrs. LUCE. I did not refer to India. I referred to Albania as getting \$22.42 per capita and Greece the largest allocation of all, \$52.45 per capita, and Yugoslavia \$27.84 per capita.

Mr. BLOOM. When this new authorization is appropriated, I am sure you will find the largest amount of this appropriation of \$1,350,000,000 will go to China and Italy.

Mrs. LUCE. So it is, indeed, because I have the figures; but per person, per

empty stomach, the Chinese get less than anybody else, although they have been in the war longest, and suffered so very greatly.

Mr. KEE. May I call the gentlewoman's attention to the fact that the figures as to the allocation of the funds we are asking to be appropriated now are purely tentative and subject to revision.

Mrs. LUCE. Then, it is the gentleman's opinion that the allocation for China can still be increased and will not be decreased?

Mr. KEE. In my opinion, it can be increased or decreased, but in my opinion it will be increased.

Mrs. LUCE. Who, finally, will make that decision?

Mr. BLOOM. If the gentleman will yield, that goes to the Council. The Council does that, as far as increasing or decreasing the amount is concerned.

Mr. HERTER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KEE. I yield.

Mr. HERTER. I have before me the allocations that have been made to date, assuming that the \$1,350,000,000 is appropriated. The allocation for China is \$562,500,000, excluding shipping costs. These figures are not final, but these are the last tentative allocations.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KEE. I yield.

Mr. BLOOM. I will say that those figures which you say are the figures you got for the allocation of the \$1,350,000,000 have not been given out. They have not been allocated yet by anyone.

Mr. FOLGER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. KEE. I yield.

Mr. FOLGER. I would like to call the gentleman's attention in this connection to the testimony of Dean Acheson in very intelligent explanation of why there may be differences on a pro rata basis, in the allocations of UNRRA, which explains the matter very fully, showing us why it is necessary.

Mr. KEE. I recall that, and I thank the gentleman for his contribution.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from West Virginia has expired.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman two additional minutes.

Mr. KEE. If there is any method through which public sentiment can be accurately determined, the array of witnesses appearing before the Foreign Affairs Committee in support of this resolution certainly indicates that it is the overwhelming sentiment of the American people that the work of UNRRA should be continued and that the necessary funds to carry it on should be made immediately available. Many of these witnesses did not speak for themselves alone, but came before the committee as the authorized representatives of great organizations of the country. Before us, earnestly urging this appropriation, appeared representatives of the American Farm Bureau Federation, the National Farmers Union, National Education Association, American Federation of Labor, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the National Grange, National League of Women Voters, National Women's Trade

Union, National Congress of Parents and Teachers, National Catholic Welfare Council, National Council of Jewish Women, and many others of strength and influence. Not a single organization of any character whatsoever sent a representative before this committee in opposition to the proposal.

It has been urged that the relief of the distressed peoples of the world is a moral obligation upon the United States and its citizens. That this is true will probably not be denied, but in my humble judgment there is a greater obligation, imposed upon us as the victor in the greatest war of all time, to establish and forever maintain a just and permanent peace. There can be no peace anywhere, in any land or country where the people are hungry. Peace must be founded upon reason, and you cannot reason with the naked, the freezing, and the starving.

It does not require the gift of prophecy to say that today there is a spirit of unrest in practically every land that was visited by the horrors of war. Is there any wonder that the people grow restless day by day and month by month when they are without food, without clothing, and without homes? Is it any wonder that in many of the devastated countries of the world the spirit of unrest has grown to the proportion of a resolution? Can we hope for anything better until these people are fed, clothed, and housed? Can we hope to establish even a temporary peace until the immediate needs of these people are satisfied? Therefore it is not only a moral obligation we have resting upon us, it is an obligation we owe not alone to those who are hungry and unclothed but also one that we owe to all the rest of the world—to all peoples and all countries everywhere who are looking to us for the establishment of a just and lasting peace.

One more comment and I am through. It is not only my hope and prayer that this resolution be adopted by an overwhelming vote of this House but I also sincerely trust that it will be adopted without any restrictions or inhibitions. We cannot use human suffering in a trade for political advantage. We cannot offer relief conditioned upon changes in the policy of other governments. We cannot deny bread to the hungry, clothing to the naked, and homes to the homeless because some official or officials of another government decline to modify their views in conformity with our demands. I plead today that we do not use our charity as a club with which to compel a needy people to conform to our policies.

If you are opposed to our taking any action for relief of the peoples of the world, then vote against the resolution. But in the name of justice, of right, and in all fairness to those who suffer, let us make this contribution freely and cheerfully, and with no hampering restrictions.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I yield 12 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. HERTER].

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Massachusetts is recognized for 12 minutes.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. HERTER. I yield.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. I would like to ask the gentleman where he received the information regarding the allocation to China and other countries, because our committee did not receive that information from UNRRA.

Mr. HERTER. The figure that I quoted a moment ago I received from two independent sources. The first source was from UNRRA itself. The second source was from the head of the Chinese Mission, who is here in Washington and who had been given the figure by UNRRA, and who in turn wrote me a letter giving me that figure as being the one that he had been told was the allocation for China.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Our committee felt we should be given very much more information than we were. When we asked about future allocations they were said to be too secret to be given out.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I make a point of order that all of this information was given in executive session and it is not to be quoted here by any member of the committee or anyone else.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. The gentleman from Massachusetts did not secure it from the UNRRA witnesses before the committee.

Mr. BLOOM. I insist upon my point of order.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Chairman, I should like to know what there is in this bill that the honorable chairman cannot let be divulged to the public when we are giving away billions of dollars.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Massachusetts will proceed.

Mr. HERTER. I can sympathize with the chairman of the committee with regard to giving out these figures. On the other hand, as the figures were given to me with no restrictions whatever by the head of the Chinese Government organization which is going to receive the money, I do not see that I am under any compulsion to keep the information confidential.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HERTER. I yield.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. There was no restriction from UNRRA as to the gentleman's making it public, was there?

Mr. HERTER. There was no restriction from UNRRA.

Mr. Chairman, I rise at this time to support the bill before us. I am supporting it for two principal reasons: First, because I feel that the need has been very clearly shown to exist; and second, because I feel that UNRRA is not only the single organization equipped to meet this need, but it has in recent weeks shown a very marked improvement in its administrative skills and in the personnel which is heading the most important sections of its various component parts. As an example of the latter fact, I might point out that Major General Rooks, from the State of Washington, who was a member of Eisenhower's

staff, has now been appointed in charge of the Washington office. You have General Gale in London; you have General Morgan in charge of displaced persons; you have General Drewry in Poland. You are getting today very much better executive personnel throughout the whole of UNRRA than UNRRA had in its early stages. I am not suggesting that UNRRA was responsible for the caliber of some of its early personnel.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HERTER. I yield.

Mr. BLOOM. Is not the simple reason for that the fact that these men available today were not available in the early stages when UNRRA was organized? At that time we were scraping the bottom of the barrel and could not get the type of men we needed.

Mr. HERTER. The gentleman is quite correct. That has altered the situation very materially. I have been told, for instance, that insofar as operations in China are concerned we are developing a very much stronger personnel than that which was at first anticipated.

The question of need, it seems to me, as far as this discussion is concerned, can well be boiled down to the needs of the two principal countries which will be the recipients under this additional appropriation. It is a strange procedure for us to have an appropriation of \$550,000,000 not yet voted upon by the Congress, although I hope it will be very shortly, and at the same time to be authorizing an additional \$1,300,000,000 concurrently. The reason for that, I think, has not been sufficiently brought out. It is because the UNRRA program is now being expanded to take in at least three new areas that we never contemplated under the original appropriation. Those are China, Italy, and Austria.

The Italian situation is very little understood. From the moment that the American and British armies invaded Sicily the entire question of caring for the needs of the civilians of Italy was financed under the disease-and-unrest formula of the War Department and was administered by the Army supplemented by the British Army and the Canadian Army.

The amounts that have already gone into taking care of the civilian population of Italy total very close to \$1,000,000,000. They have come out of the military appropriations. The most fertile northern agricultural areas of Italy were being fought over during the planting season, and the balance suffered a very severe drought which decimated the cereal crops. Italy today is living from hand to mouth on shipments of foreign grain that are going into the ports of Italy.

On the 1st of October all military appropriations ceased and Italy is being fed today and can be fed until about the 1st of January by a transfer of \$100,000,000 that was made from lend-lease appropriations to FEA; so that today FEA—and in turn, the State Department, which took over the functions of FEA—is feeding Italy. Italy's situation became so severe, partly as a result of the very thing that some of us predicted

when we were there last summer, namely that the Italian Government would be unable to amass through its governmental organization for collecting grain known as the Amassi sufficient grain from its own farmers in the northern area to take care of even a small percentage of the Italian people. Now it is finding itself very seriously pinched and for the month of December emergency methods have had to be used in order to get sufficient grain into Italy in order to prevent a recurrence and a very great spread of the hunger strikes that have already taken place in Naples and other cities in that country.

Unless and until this second amount of money is made available, the \$1,300,000,000, there is going to be no way to take care of that Italian problem after the 1st of January. It is for that reason, to my mind, that we have an emergency before us from the point of view of acting quickly on this particular appropriation.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HERTER. I yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Does the gentleman have the figures on how much is going to be spent in Italy out of this additional amount?

Mr. HERTER. The exact amount is not stated, but the estimates that were made at the time this was discussed by the UNRRA council meeting in London and with UNRRA officials in Rome, are available, and there is nothing secret about the estimates. They run between \$400,000,000 and \$450,000,000 to carry Italy through from the 1st of January to its next harvest.

Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Does the gentleman have the estimates for the various countries where aid is going to be given by UNRRA?

Mr. HERTER. I have them but I do not feel at liberty to make them public at this time.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HERTER. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Did the Italians ask for small tools in order to make things with their hands? They were asking for them a year ago and that was promised them. It was promised they would be sent from this country and also grain would be sent. There was great suffering then, and even more now.

Mr. HERTER. I think there are a good many things to be sent to Italy, as well as to other countries over there, and those things are included in the industrial rehabilitation figures of UNRRA.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Has the gentleman any information or figures regarding the proposed barter, tokens or payment from Italy to the United States?

Mr. HERTER. No; I have heard that discussed very frequently. There is this question which arises in connection with that: In the case of the rehabilitation program for Italy there was the question of shipping raw cotton into northern Italy so that the spindles could be put to work there for the production of

clothing. The urgency for clothing in Italy itself is tremendous. There has been an assumption—I think a correct one—that any UNRRA cotton which is spun in Italy would be retained in Italy for the people of Italy and not go into international trade. In addition to that, there have been some commercial negotiations on behalf of cotton brokers to finance the shipment of cotton in exchange for the return of the finished products.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. So that they would come back to this country and compete with our finished products?

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HERTER. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. BLOOM. Is it not a fact that all of the raw material that is sent to any of these countries that UNRRA is supplying aid to is made up into material by the factories or mills there for home consumption? Is it not to be considered, and never has been considered, to be a matter of exporting any of this stuff?

Mr. HERTER. That is only an assumption.

Mr. BLOOM. Does the gentleman know of any place where UNRRA has been operating where a country being in desperate need of goods manufactured it and exported it to any other place?

Mr. HERTER. No; I do not. On the other hand, I favor doing that very thing in certain areas; for instance as between northeastern Yugoslavia and northwestern Italy. I think it might be perfectly possible to have a barter arrangement, where an exchange of badly needed commodities for cotton textiles would be desirable.

Mr. BLOOM. If they need it in some other place, then we would not send it to Yugoslavia.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HERTER. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Do they plan sending Czechoslovakian shoes to this country?

Mr. HERTER. No. As far as I know there is no intent to send leather to Czechoslovakia and return the finished shoes to this country.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Massachusetts has expired.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman five additional minutes.

Mrs. LUCE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HERTER. I yield to the gentleman from Connecticut.

Mrs. LUCE. Where a sum is allocated to one of these countries, does the sum allocated include the shipping expenses?

Mr. HERTER. It depends on how you figure it. The figure that was given me in connection with China did not include the shipping expense.

Mrs. LUCE. That is to say, the figure which the gentleman hazarded a guess upon, the five-hundred-and-sixty-odd million dollars, does not include the shipping expense?

Mr. HERTER. No. I am very glad that the gentleman raised that question, because I think there is one thing that all of us who are favorable to UNRRA ought to examine very carefully, and that is the hideously high shipping costs that are being charged by the United States Shipping Administration today for relief goods being shipped all over the world. It is costing UNRRA over 20 percent of its entire appropriation to pay shipping costs to the United States Government, and also to some British shipping interests when shipments go out of Canada. But today the freight rates, it seems to me, are out of all proportion, and certainly under a competitive system such as we had before they would never continue at the terrifically high rates. Every dollar going into shipping costs is coming out of the relief supply.

Mrs. LUCE. In the case of a country like China, which is the most remote country to come under UNRRA relief, the shipping costs over so vast an area, if included in the sum, might very well consume a great deal of the actual allocation of funds, might it not?

Mr. HERTER. That is correct.

Mrs. LUCE. Then in the final analysis a good deal of the sum could go into shipping expenses, so that in the end very little relief food and other relief items would actually be put into the mouths of hungry people, compared to what we thought we were appropriating?

Mr. HERTER. That is true. As I understand, the figure quoted was a figure minus shipping costs. It was not inclusive of shipping costs.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HERTER. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. BLOOM. The gentleman must admit that UNRRA has nothing to do with the cost of shipping. That is a matter of record. They have to pay that cost nevertheless.

Mr. HERTER. I am merely recording a fact.

Mr. BLOOM. I agree with the gentleman, but I mean he does not want to blame UNRRA because UNRRA is being blamed enough. The gentleman does not want to blame UNRRA because of paying shipping costs on long hauls to China, for instance.

Mr. HERTER. I am not blaming UNRRA; in fact, it is the other way around. I am trying to point out that this shipping item is such a large item and that additional funds are badly needed, because the supplies UNRRA gets to individuals in the needy countries are cut down by that amount.

During the course of the discussion today I think it was the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. ROBERTSON] who made the first statement on behalf of the Committee on Rules and stated that Mr. Clayton in London, at the UNRRA conference, had made what amounted to a commitment by this country for this additional sum of money. I think in fairness to Mr. Clayton it ought to be made perfectly clear that Mr. Clayton made no such commitment. Mr. Clayton made it just as clear as he knew how to

every government concerned that he would make a recommendation; that he was in no position to make a commitment; that only the Congress of the United States was in a position to make a commitment.

In that connection, I would like to read section 6 of the act which we are now being asked to extend, which reads as follows:

SEC. 6. In adopting this joint resolution, the Congress does so with the following reservation: That in the case of the United States the appropriate constitutional body to determine the amount and character and time of the contributions of the United States is the Congress of the United States.

Certainly nothing can be clearer than that from the point of view of the enabling act which created UNRRA and made us a party to UNRRA. I mention that at this time because in the report that has been presented by the Committee on Foreign Affairs there appears on the first page a summary of the enabling act containing only sections 1 and 9, which are the only two sections that are amended. There is no reference whatever to sections 2 through 8. I think it is well worth while for every Member of Congress to read those sections, because every one of those sections was a restriction by the Congress of the United States upon its adherence to the UNRRA Convention and upon the authorization of the initial money that was appropriated. Every one of those restrictions is renewed in the bill that is now before us.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Massachusetts has expired.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman 2½ additional minutes.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield ½ minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. HERTER. I mention that fact because there has been a great deal of agitation with respect to so-called crippling amendments. I want to address myself to that subject for a moment because I am going to put in the RECORD now, so that it may be read by anyone who is interested, the text of an amendment which I shall offer tomorrow when the bill is read for amendment.

The amendment I am proposing in no way restricts the additional authorization of relief. It cannot be charged that this amendment is keeping food out of the starving babies' mouths, as has been the case with other amendments offered here. The amendment is offered for the sole purpose of trying to strengthen this organization so that it can do an effective job.

The amendment reads as follows:

After line 11 insert a new paragraph, as follows:

"(3) Add a new section 8 (a):

"8 (a). In adopting this joint resolution the Congress does so with the following recommendations:

"A. That the United States member of the control committee of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration is hereby directed to endeavor, by appropriate resolutions, agreements, or otherwise, to secure favorable action by that committee or by the United Nations Relief and Rehabil-

itation Administration Council to attain the following objectives:

"(1) That all trade agreements and all barter agreements of a recipient country with other nations, together with satisfactory information on all exports from, and imports into, such country, whether for governmental or private account, will be made available to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

"(2) That each recipient country shall supply accredited United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration personnel with all necessary facilities, credentials, documents, and safe conduct in carrying out the objectives of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration agreement, including all necessary inspections and investigations.

"(3) That the Administration, if it determines such a course to be desirable, will be permitted, during the period of its operations in a recipient country, to retain title to all motor-transport equipment supplied by the Administration and will also be permitted to route such equipment and to direct the use of the fuel and lubricants supplied by the Administration.

"B. The President is hereby requested to endeavor, through appropriate channels, to facilitate the admission to recipient countries of properly accredited members of the American press and radio in order that they may be permitted to report without censorship on the utilization and distribution of United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration supplies and services."

I should like to address myself to that amendment for a moment. I checked only yesterday to find out whether since our earlier debate on the subject of UNRRA in Yugoslavia, for instance, either our Government, the British Government, any other government or UNRRA has been able to obtain the text of the secret trade agreements between Yugoslavia and her neighbors. They have not been able to do so.

What is happening here today is that relief is being put into a country—and I am sorry to be singling out Yugoslavia for I have no particular quarrel with Yugoslavia, but I am merely using it as an example—which has secret agreements with Russia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and Albania, all dealing with the export and the import of the very types of things which the relief organization is supposed to bring into that country. To my mind, no one can defend an intelligent application for relief supplies unless they know what is coming in or going out of the country. All my amendment does is to suggest that the American member of the council do his best to get full information on imports and exports adopted as a principle of UNRRA. It does not say it is a condition.

Mrs. LUCE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HERTER. I yield.

Mrs. LUCE. According to the figures supplied to me, Yugoslavia was the second highest country, Greece being first, to receive allocations on a per capita basis. Whereas it is not possible to starve people into accepting American ideas or ideology, it may be possible to feed them into accepting alien ideologies, if we do not watch just such things as the gentleman has tried to cover in his amendment, that is, secret trade treaties. Is that not so?

Mr. HERTER. Yes. I am confining my argument principally to the relief end of this thing and am trying my best to get out of the political end of it. I am talking only about an efficient and intelligent relief operation.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HERTER. I yield.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Has the gentleman read the report presented to the Committee on Appropriations submitted by the Secretary of State, in which he says:

That all trade agreements and all barter agreements of such country with other nations, together with satisfactory information on all exports from and imports into such countries, whether for governmental or private account, will be made available to UNRRA.

The Secretary of State said they would have not too much objection to that.

Mr. HERTER. Each one of these suggested amendments I am saying should be made an objective of our representative on the Council has already been included on the list of the amendments that Secretary Byrnes said they would have no objection to.

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HERTER. I yield.

Mrs. BOLTON. The same principles would hold good in regard to the final decision as to whether White Russia and the Ukraine would benefit from UNRRA, would it not?

Mr. HERTER. Yes; some would.

Mrs. BOLTON. There would be some balance there as to the capacity of the Soviet to do that itself, would there not?

Mr. HERTER. Yes; but I am pointing out that my amendment would not in any way stop anyone from giving anybody any relief. It merely instructs the American delegation.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HERTER. I yield.

Mr. BLOOM. In other words, the amendment which the gentleman has read here is merely a suggested amendment to try to do those things and not to make it mandatory?

Mr. HERTER. The gentleman is quite correct. It will in no way slow up the operation of relief in any sense whatsoever.

The second amendment is the one that deals with the so-called freedom of the press. That amendment very clearly merely requires the President to use his best offices to facilitate the entry of members of the press into the countries that are recipient countries in order that they may report on the distribution and services of the UNRRA organization. I am hoping very much, in view of the attitude shown toward these amendments by the chairman of the committee, that they will be acceptable. I think that the objective of every one of these amendments has been admitted to be desirable on the part of the State Department, on the part of UNRRA itself, and on the part of many Members of the House. Therefore, I hope they will be accepted.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, under permission granted me, I include the following letter:

LETTER FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE
DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington.

Mr. CLARENCE CANNON,
Chairman, Appropriations Committee,
House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. CANNON: In the course of our recent telephone conversation, you asked me to give you the views of the Department concerning a number of amendments which have been suggested for inclusion in the requested appropriation legislation for the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

During the hearings on the appropriation, Assistant Secretary Clayton explained that the Department felt that any amendments of the kind proposed would be inappropriate in connection with the legislation under discussion.

As you know, the \$550,000,000, which has been requested, is the remaining amount already authorized for the participation by the United States in the work of UNRRA. It is presently contemplated that the \$550,000,000 will be required for relief expenditures during the next few months—probably by January 1, 1946. The proposed amendments, on the other hand, are directed toward the expenditure of funds after January 1, 1946, and therefore it would appear far more useful to discuss their inclusion in legislation for a further authorization when such legislation is submitted.

Aside from the appropriateness of the legislation as a vehicle for the amendments suggested, we believe it is unwise for the United States to begin a process which may lead to the imposition of restrictive and undesirable conditions on UNRRA's operations by other countries.

It is my hope that the appropriation can be made subject to no conditions other than those already included by the Congress in the authorization act. I recognize, however, that there is considerable sentiment in favor of the suggested amendments, and I should not want the Department's opposition to all amendments to prevent the prompt appropriation of the funds. The need for additional procurement of supplies in the United States is desperately urgent if relief is to continue uninterrupted during the coming winter, and it will be impossible for UNRRA to continue its programs without further funds.

For these reasons, I am enclosing a draft of provisions which the Department believes could be included in the appropriation bill without imposing upon UNRRA impossible administrative burdens or responsibilities inappropriate to an international organization.

I greatly appreciate the opportunity you have given me to comment on the amendments which have been proposed. I know you recognize the importance of our full participation in international organizations of which we are members. I therefore hope that the remaining amount authorized for our participation in UNRRA can be made available free of any unduly restrictive conditions.

Sincerely yours,

JAMES F. BYRNES.

[Enclosure: Draft.]

DRAFT

At the proper place in the provisions making appropriations for UNRRA insert:

"No part of the appropriation herein for carrying out the provisions of the joint resolution of March 24, 1944, entitled 'Joint resolution to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations relief and rehabilitation organization,' shall be available for that purpose for the relief and rehabilitation of a country subsequent to December 31, 1945, unless and until the President has received from the Director General of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation

Administration a certification to the effect that the furnishing by such Administration of relief and rehabilitation supplies and services to the government of such country for the nationals of such country will be made only under agreements between the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration and such country or other suitable arrangements providing—

"(1) That all trade agreements and all barter agreements of such country with other nations, together with satisfactory information on all exports from, and imports into, such country, whether for governmental or private account, will be made available to UNRRA.

"(2) That markings on supplies furnished by the Administration which indicate the national source of such supplies will not be changed.

"(3) That at regular periods such country will make available to UNRRA statements of its current financial position, which statements shall set forth in detail all receipts of such country from the sale and from the rental of supplies furnished by the Administration.

"(4) That the Administration, if it determines such a course to be desirable, will be permitted, during the period of its operations in such country, to retain title to all motor transport equipment supplied by the Administration, and will also be permitted to route such equipment and to direct the use of the fuel and lubricants supplied by the Administration.

"(5) That the press of such country will be permitted to publish all statements, relating to the operations of the Administration in such country, made by the administrative head of the Administration's mission in such country;

and, furthermore, that no part of the appropriation shall be used to provide any relief and rehabilitation supplies to be shipped to the receiving countries in Europe later than December 1, 1946, or to the receiving countries in the Far East later than March 1, 1947."

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield 10 minutes to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. SADOWSKI].

Mr. SADOWSKI. Mr. Chairman, I want to use this time particularly to answer some of the false and untrue statements that have been made about UNRRA and its aid to Poland. About 2 weeks ago Senator JAMES MEAD, of New York, and I spent several hours with the Vice Premier of Poland, Mr. Mikolajczyk, who was here in Washington en route to Poland after attending the Food Conference in Canada. Undoubtedly the Polish Nation and the Polish people have suffered more terribly, I believe, than any other nation or people on the face of the earth. The information that we received was so appalling, so disheartening, so distressing that it is hard to repeat. Amongst other things, he said to us this: "If you walk along the streets of Poland and ask a person whom you meet on the street, 'Have you lost anyone in your immediate family, a brother or father, sister or mother?' they say, 'Yes; one, two, three.' Ninety-nine out of a hundred people you meet on the streets of Poland will give you that answer. That is, ninety-nine out of a hundred people you meet on the streets have suffered the loss of someone in their immediate family."

Another thing which was hard for me to understand and realize about the ter-

rible situation there was that here in America we know that our Nation is built upon the family life. We have the head of the family, the mother and the father, to look after the children, to see that the family is taken care of. The family responsibility is headed by a mother and father. We know that the foundation of our Nation is built upon that. I think we are accustomed to thinking in those terms for the world.

He said to us this: "Congressman, one-third of the families of Poland have no head at all. That is, both father and mother are dead." Both father and mother. "One-third of all the families, the children, are left without a father or mother, to shift for themselves."

There is no one to look after these children; no one to be the head of the family; no one to look out after all those family responsibilities.

He said to us further: "Another one-third of all the families in Poland have only one head of the family. That is, either the father or the mother is dead."

In other words, two-thirds of all the families in Poland do not have the proper leadership at the head of the family unit to take care and look after the problems of the family.

He said: "Under those conditions, you see what we are faced with in this plan of reorganizing our Nation, and what terrible problems we have before us."

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SADOWSKI. I yield.

Mr. McCORMACK. I have here a very interesting news item which appeared in the New York Times of December 1, where Miss Katharine Lenroot, Chief of the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor, a very efficient public official—her late father was a Member of the United States Senate—in relation to Poland says this:

About 1,000,000 people, half of them in Warsaw, reported homeless. Although food and clothing are scarce, the lack of protection against cold is the greatest threat.

Now, mark what I read now. It is amazing.

Confining it to the children—

There we come to the little youngsters, the future citizens—

Little children, 1 child in 9 of Poland's 7,000,000 children, under 14 years of age, has lost both parents, and another one million have only one parent living.

Mr. SADOWSKI. That bears out substantially what we were told.

Six years of war have left Poland economically prostrate, with only the will and determination of her population and aid from the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration to start her back on the long road to rehabilitation.

Today thousands of Poland's 23,000,000 people are alive because of UNRRA. More thousands who will live to rebuild Poland—or die from hunger and starvation—are waiting breathlessly to hear that the United States Congress has made it possible for the life-giving supply line to continue to flow the long distances from the farms and factories of America to broken and war-torn Poland.

There has never been any doubt of Poland's desperate need for UNRRA supplies. An appeal for aid—and UNRRA preparations to meet it—occurred months before January 17, 1945, the day Warsaw was liberated. Because of UNRRA's preparations to meet this appeal, the first ship carrying UNRRA supplies to Poland actually left New York Harbor months before the UNRRA-Polish agreement was signed.

The UNRRA-Polish agreement, similar to UNRRA agreements with other countries, and the basis under which UNRRA operations in Poland are carried on, was signed by UNRRA and the Polish Provisional Government of National Unity in September 1945. Consequently UNRRA's major operations in Poland have really just begun.

From March 12, however, the day when the first UNRRA supplies for Poland left New York Harbor for Constanza, until December 1, 1945, UNRRA supplies shipped to Poland had reached a total of more than 307,000 gross long tons costing around \$164,000,000. Much of this represents tonnage shipped under all the difficulties of wartime operations and is only the beginning of a rapidly accelerating pipe line. Three hundred and seven thousand tons of UNRRA supplies already shipped to Poland represent a magnificent achievement in overcoasting war and post-liberation difficulties. Until very recently—in fact, it was September 5 when the first UNRRA ship reached the Polish port of Gdansk—all supplies destined for Poland had to go via the Rumanian port of Constanza and to be transhipped by rail. Poland was liberated from the east, and the Polish ports of Gdynia and Gdansk on the Baltic were not freed until the very last days of the war. The mines that infested the North and Baltic Seas were so plentiful that no shipping of any kind via Baltic ports was permitted by the military until the waters had been mine-swept and certified as safe. Then the urgency of military needs for the ports prevented nonmilitary shipments for a time. Not until August 14 could the first UNRRA cargo leave New York Harbor for a Polish port. It reached Gdansk on September 5.

Food supplies for Poland's hungry millions stand high in UNRRA's shipments. The German Army, not content simply to loot Poland's food supply, destroyed her capacity for food production, and food is the No. 1 need that UNRRA is seeking to supply. More than half of the 307,000 tons that UNRRA has shipped is food—flour, canned fish, lard, dried peas and beans, and sugar.

For Poland's ravaged agricultural plant that is beginning to run again in the face of insurmountable difficulties, UNRRA has shipped more than 33,000 gross tons of agricultural rehabilitation materials, such as farm machinery, fertilizers, seed, and veterinarian supplies. By mid-October 3,300 tractors had arrived. Regular shipments of livestock are being made to help Poland replenish the herds so vital to an agricultural country. By early November Poland had received from UNRRA 300 horses and 700 head of horned cattle. The task of full rehabilitation of Poland's agricul-

ture will take at least a generation of patient labor and care by the farmers of Poland, but the task has been well started with UNRRA supplies.

Tons of clothing are regularly going to Poland for a population that at best has only 20 percent of its minimum clothing needs. More than 75 percent of the adults and 85 percent of the children of Poland are without shoes. By the end of October UNRRA had shipped to Poland more than 27,000 tons of clothing, textiles, and hides in an effort to meet at least partially the desperate needs of the population before the coming winter. It had also shipped 3,030 tons of yarns and textiles, 16,000 tons of raw cotton, and 1,888 tons of raw wool. In addition to providing urgently needed garments, these raw materials will make it possible for the mills to start working once more.

One of the most terrifying problems facing Poland, and consequently facing all of Europe, is the health problem. Thousands of Polish people are dying monthly from tuberculosis, typhoid, malnutrition, and dysentery. These diseases are widespread and are taking rapid toll of a population already exhausted by 6 years of war. Malnutrition, lack of clothing, lack of shelter, and dead bodies still buried in the ruins of the cities are not helping the health problem. To meet these problems, UNRRA has been able to ship some 4,300 tons of medical supplies, and technical medical personnel with the UNRRA mission in Warsaw are working closely with the Polish Government. Ninety hospitals and convalescent institutions are promised by UNRRA for Poland. Quite aside from the fact that the American people, because of humanitarian reasons, are unwilling to continue to let thousands of people in Poland die, the threat of epidemics beginning in Poland and spreading throughout Europe must give us pause. Epidemics raging throughout Europe may well reach the United States in spite of all possible precautions.

As important as any other item in the UNRRA supply program are the trucks which UNRRA is racing into Poland for the distribution of supplies throughout the country; trucks, just as much as the food and medical supplies they carry, mean the difference between life and death to a war-ravaged population. Poland will have to have about 60,000 trucks in order to get some sort of effective internal transportation since railway transportation was completely destroyed by the invading armies. UNRRA expects to be able to make available to Poland about 20,000 trucks and 3,000 trailers. From the western hemisphere alone more than 6,500 motor vehicles have been shipped to Poland and by mid-October, 4,000 trucks had arrived. UNRRA is rushing into Poland hundreds of trucks every week. Many of these are from Allied army surpluses.

Seventy-five locomotives from United States military surpluses in Belgium have already been delivered to Poland and 59 new ones are being produced in the United Kingdom. UNRRA is also attempting to procure 4,000 freight cars.

As in other receiving countries, the major job of distribution of hundreds of thousands of tons of supplies in Po-

land is the responsibility of the Polish Government, not of UNRRA. The Polish Government normally takes title to UNRRA supplies at the port. It would be impossible for UNRRA to undertake large-scale distribution of relief supplies in any country except by employing thousands of people. Furthermore, by using normal trade channels, the economic structure of the country and its regular channels of distribution remain unchanged.

In Poland actual distribution of consumers' goods supplied by UNRRA is undertaken by the Central Cooperative Federation "Spolem", acting as an agent of the Ministry of Supplies. The Ministry of Supplies, however, establishes consumers' rations, prices, and other techniques of equitable distribution. Medical supplies are distributed through the Ministry of Health and other special supplies, not going immediately to the final consumer, through other appropriate ministries. In all instances, UNRRA staff are free to travel and to observe distribution throughout the country to see that supplies are distributed without discrimination. After touring Radom, Krakow, Gliwice, Wroclaw, and Lodz, UNRRA staff reported that distribution was in complete conformity with the UNRRA Council resolutions pertaining to nondiscrimination. Priority in distribution is given to welfare and health institutions and to heavy workers. Furthermore, UNRRA staff in Poland also reports that there is widespread knowledge of UNRRA among the Polish people. All Polish papers give UNRRA frequent and favorable publicity. Packages shipped from UNRRA bear UNRRA markings and frequently the national labels of their country of origin.

There has been much loose talk about the composition of the UNRRA mission in Poland, with charges that the mission was under the domination of outside forces. I should like to clear the misunderstandings that exist in this area. As of November 29, the UNRRA mission in Poland actually consisted of 16 persons. The chief of that mission is Brig. Charles Mills Drury, a Canadian; the deputy chief for supply and requirements is an American, Clifford Wilson. He was the acting chief of the mission until Brigadier Drury's arrival. As of November 29, the chief agricultural specialist, chief medical officer, chief observer for distribution and head of the industrial rehabilitation unit of the mission were all American citizens. As a matter of fact, out of the 16 persons on the UNRRA staff, 8 were American, 2 Canadian, 5 were British, and there was 1 Soviet citizen appointed in charge of the transportation function in the mission.

As of the same day there were en route to the mission in Poland an additional 6 persons, 5 of whom were American and 1 of whom was a Britisher. Again as of the same day there were in process of appointment to the Polish Mission in Washington 10 additional American citizens, most of whom will depart within the next week or two and who will act as distribution observers. Some of these are Detroiters, well known and prominent citizens of our city. More-

over, UNRRA has appointed an American as chief public relations officer.

The major functions of the mission will be to help the Polish Government develop its requirements for supplies, to advise on specialized health and welfare problems, and to observe the distribution of UNRRA supplies in order to insure the United States and other contributing governments that international supplies are being distributed without regard to racial or political discrimination. I have personal knowledge of the conscientious effort that UNRRA is making to secure competent observers for its Polish mission. Several of the United States members of the staff, who will act in this capacity, are members of Polish-American families with a deep and lasting understanding of Poland's needs and of the desire of all Polish-Americans to keep flowing a pipe line of supplies so vital to the rehabilitation of a brave and courageous people. Every one of the observers, American citizens, are veterans of World War I or World War II, or both. They are fine Americans, anxious to do a good job and promote better understanding between America and Poland.

I should like to conclude by saying a few words about the status of private American agencies in Poland. Here, too, there has been much misinformation. All Americans interested in Poland will be happy to know that on Saturday the Polish War Relief Association's mission, headed by Bishop Stephen Woznicki, of Detroit, left for Poland, where it will discuss with Polish Government officials arrangements for immediate operations in that country. UNRRA has done everything possible to facilitate the departure of this mission and to assure its success. At the present moment Fathers Swanson and Wycislo, representatives of the National Catholic Welfare Council, are in Warsaw for the same purpose and for some time the joint distribution committee has a representation in the country. These organizations will retain their identity and operate according to plans mutually agreed upon by the societies and the Polish Government, with UNRRA acting as a coordinating unit in order to prevent waste of supplies, manpower, or money.

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SADOWSKI. I yield.

Mrs. BOLTON. The gentleman spoke of shipments to Constanza. Does the gentleman know whether those shipments have been delivered in Poland? I may have missed it in the gentleman's statement. Have they reached Poland from Constanza?

Mr. SADOWSKI. Yes; Poland did receive them. I have verified that because I have been very deeply interested in knowing the true facts about it. Poland has received those supplies.

Mrs. BOLTON. I know Yugoslavia has had very great difficulty in getting supplies from Constanza up to Yugoslavia and I was interested in knowing whether Poland was experiencing the same difficulty.

Mr. SADOWSKI. The supplies that came through Constanza were very small indeed. Poland received very little in tonnage from Constanza. Most of the

307,000 tons so far received have come through the Baltic ports.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Michigan has expired.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Connecticut [Mr. RYTER].

Mr. RYTER. Mr. Chairman, we have heard a great deal about the desire of the American people to share their abundance with the ragged and starving millions in Europe and Asia. I have received many letters from constituents offering to contribute ration points or to continue rationing, if that would release more food.

The recent Gallup poll revealed that 85 percent of the American people answered "Yes" to the question, "Should we help feed Europe and Asia?" What outlets have we given this generous American impulse?

Private organizations are characteristic of our national life. The great bulk of our citizens belong to at least one religious institution or agency concerned with the welfare of others. Everyone in this House has probably contributed to overseas relief through one of these organizations. Yet, the physical devastation and human suffering left in the wake of this war is so vast that no one voluntary agency or group of agencies has sufficient resources to do more than peck at the outer fringes of the problem. They have a special contribution to make, however, inside the framework of an over-all intergovernmental organization which is prepared to make use of various abilities and resources. UNRRA is that intergovernmental agency.

From its inception, UNRRA has recognized the importance of these private relief groups to supplement large-scale relief with additional and specialized services. The following policy was established at the Atlantic City Conference:

UNRRA will welcome the efforts of foreign voluntary organizations to provide at their own expense and subject to the regulation of the Director General, relief, welfare, and health services in addition to the services provided by UNRRA so long as the following conditions are observed:

(a) The services which voluntary organizations are operating under their own responsibility should not prejudice any services provided by a government or by UNRRA itself;

(b) The services operated by voluntary organizations should not draw on any local resources which could, in the opinion of UNRRA, be better used to meet other emergency needs;

(c) UNRRA must be satisfied as to the general competence, health, and personal character of the people who are employed by the voluntary organizations for relief and welfare work;

(d) Foreign voluntary organizations will be expected to help indigenous organizations and agencies to assume responsibility for relief and welfare services in their own area at the earliest possible opportunity.

Over 50 voluntary agencies of national character are operating in Europe and Asia. Twenty United States organizations are actively associated with UNRRA in the countries it serves. In general, this assistance takes one of the following forms:

First. The loan of skilled and professionally trained personnel to UNRRA.

Second. The conduct of planned programs of relief and rehabilitation supplementary to the basic program of UNRRA.

Third. The contribution of supplies to UNRRA or, with the assistance of UNRRA, to an agency or institution in the country for distribution to the people.

LOAN OF PERSONNEL TO UNRRA

UNRRA's first request for assistance to war victims occurred in 1944 at the height of the European military campaign. Fifteen United States voluntary agencies helped meet the shortage of trained personnel by placing their own experienced foreign-relief workers at the disposal of UNRRA.

Under a mutually adopted program of cooperation, voluntary agencies paid the salaries of more than 100 of these workers. UNRRA provided their transportation and maintenance and assumed responsibility for their supervision.

Since the end of the war, most of these agencies have been developing their own supplementary relief and rehabilitation projects and need their own personnel for these specialized services.

UNRRA is releasing these loaned workers as fast as they can be replaced by UNRRA employees. Their services have been of incalculable value.

SUPPLEMENTARY PROJECTS

When a voluntary agency or an UNRRA mission finds a job which can be appropriately handled by a private group, that private group submits its plans of operation to UNRRA and the national government involved. Once that plan is approved, UNRRA assists the agency by facilitating the movement of personnel, providing aid in the shipment of supplies, and making necessary arrangements with governments and indigenous agencies and institutions in the countries where the operation is to take place. UNRRA extends to the personnel of voluntary agencies working on approved supplementary projects, access to congregate mess and billeting facilities, basic rations, and mission stores. For these services UNRRA is normally reimbursed by the voluntary agency personnel or by the agencies. Accessibility to these UNRRA facilities is a very considerable convenience to the agencies and greatly enhances the effectiveness of their work.

I wish I could tell you what each of the individual organizations is doing in these countries, but the limitation of time will only permit me to describe a few.

EXAMPLES OF THIS HUMANE ACTIVITY

First. In Greece, where hunger and privation have hit the children most desperately, the Near East Foundation has established 16 special feeding and health centers. These centers provide medical care and supplement the regular government ration distribution by special foods required by subnormal children. Children remain an average of 3 months. As rapidly as they reach a satisfactory state of recovery, they are replaced by others.

Second. The Unitarian Service Committee and the Congregational Christian Service Committee, in collaboration with UNRRA, operate a medical nutritional

project in Italy. This project determines nutritional and associated medical needs in selected areas through a carefully supervised experimental feeding program with individuals who have suffered prolonged starvation; and assists local medical groups to apply this knowledge to their rehabilitation problems.

Third. In all of the war-devastated countries, livestock has been greatly depleted, yet milk is needed more than ever before to offset rising tuberculosis, particularly among children. The Church of the Brethren, the Falls Cities Cooperative Milk Producers Association of Louisville, Ky., and other individuals have donated more than 200 cattle to replenish diminishing stock. One hundred and fifty Holstein heifers were shipped to Poland to supply milk for hospitals and nursing homes. Bulls were brought into Greece for an artificial insemination project. The groups contributing these valuable animals say "We are anxious that our cattle serve as a testimony of our good will and friendship for the people of Europe whose homes in many cases have been destroyed by our own bombs. These cattle will be the best ambassadors of good will this country can send to the people who know the horrors of war and starvation."

Fourth. Nine voluntary agencies are performing important services to the displaced persons in Germany under an agreement reached last May by SHAEF and UNRRA. The work of these agencies is primarily in the fields of welfare and morale services—education and vocational training, recreation, religion—and the distribution of supplies provided by the agencies incident to these programs. Specialized case work and resettlement services are offered by some of the agencies.

I would like to quote a cable received this week from the government of one of these countries:

Had we not been able to call on the services of these individuals throughout these past months, we should have been severely handicapped and unable to carry out many of our most important functions.

CONCLUSION

These all too brief examples of the effective operation of voluntary agencies in cooperation with UNRRA answer the plea of Americans to help their neighbors overseas.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from North Dakota [Mr. ROBERTSON].

Mr. ROBERTSON of North Dakota. Mr. Chairman, at this late hour I assure you I shall be very brief in my remarks. I feel, however, that I would fail in my responsibility to this body if I did not take this opportunity to report to you my own practical experiences during a period of 5 weeks in the countries of Europe this late summer almost exclusively in the interest of United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation. I recognize, as do all of you, that in the organization of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation it came at a time when the question of drafting the best in personnel was difficult. I recognize by my observations and I recognize by what has been transpiring since my return that there

did occur some very great errors. I recognize, too, that the errors are being corrected. I appreciate the magnitude of this institution. An institution of such magnitude can rightfully be charged with errors. Outside of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. HERTER], I think we made as comprehensive a study of this great problem as anyone who left this Congress for that purpose. We met the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. HERTER] on several occasions and I can assure you he speaks with genuine authority when he discusses this question with you.

The amendment that he proposed when we had before us the appropriation of \$550,000,000 and the amendment he proposes to offer I am heartily in accord with. It was my privilege to be in the same room with this gentleman in London when he presented these amendments to Commander Jackson, one of the most accomplished gentlemen in the service of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation organization and they were all approved in my presence.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROBERTSON of North Dakota. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. BLOOM. Did I understand the gentleman to say that the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. HERTER] presented the amendments he read here today to that council?

Mr. ROBERTSON of North Dakota. We discussed them in London in the presence of Commander Jackson, one of the most accomplished men on the staff of this organization.

Mr. BLOOM. The only thing I am sorry about is that the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. HERTER] did not present these amendments at the right time if he already had them when the other appropriation bill was submitted.

Mr. ROBERTSON of North Dakota. He did present them.

Mr. BLOOM. Not in this form.

Mr. ROBERTSON of North Dakota. He is presenting some additional ones today.

Mr. BLOOM. The gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. HERTER] never presented the amendments he read here today.

Mr. ROBERTSON of North Dakota. That is right.

Mr. BLOOM. Because I have been thinking that perhaps I may assent to the amendments because if they are what I think they are, from what I heard the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. HERTER] read, I do not see any objection to them at all, and I hope I will be able to accept these amendments so far as I am personally concerned, though I am surprised he did not offer them before. I think they are very good amendments.

Mr. ROBERTSON of North Dakota. I am sure he did offer several amendments when the last appropriation bill was up for consideration.

Mr. BLOOM. I want to make myself clear on that. They were not in this form, not in the wording he read today on the floor of the House.

Mr. ROBERTSON of North Dakota. Perhaps not the ones he presented today,

but he did present some equally important.

Mr. Chairman, much discussion goes on in reference to the errors of this organization. There are many who are skeptical about the Russian influence. It was our privilege to travel extensively over the countries that were then being served by UNRRA. We talked to the lowliest peasants who were the beneficiaries of this in many instances, we talked to government officials, and we talked to our own representatives. We had the privilege of studying the missions in different countries and I am glad to come back and report to this Congress that on all occasions we found the personnel in the missions of the highest caliber.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from North Dakota has expired.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman three additional minutes.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROBERTSON of North Dakota. I yield to the gentleman from Idaho.

Mr. WHITE. The gentleman said that he discussed this matter with peasants and with people who were beneficiaries of the act. What countries were you in?

Mr. ROBERTSON of North Dakota. We were in practically all countries UNRRA was then serving.

Mr. WHITE. Was the gentleman in Czechoslovakia and in Poland?

Mr. ROBERTSON of North Dakota. Yes, and in Greece and Italy.

Mr. WHITE. Was the gentleman in the Balkan countries too?

Mr. ROBERTSON of North Dakota. We were in Czechoslovakia, particularly, and in Belgrade. We covered quite extensively that part of the world.

I wish to say, in conclusion, that it matters little what the objections may be. I would have had no objection had some other organization been set up to do the job, but we set up this particular institution. The question now before us is action. Whether there have been errors made or not, we can no longer delay. I have no disposition at this particular moment to engage in what we usually refer to as sob stuff. I say to you that it is now a serious question. It would have been all right if some other organization had been set up to do the job. This one was set up. I had no part in it, but I believe it is trying to do the best possible job than can be done.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ROBERTSON of North Dakota. I yield to the gentleman from Idaho.

Mr. WHITE. Did the gentleman consider whether UNRRA could do a better job than the Red Cross?

Mr. ROBERTSON of North Dakota. I have no disposition to debate the merits of any organization. I would be glad to support any organization. The point I am making is that we do not have time to make any change. The people today in these distressed countries of Europe are needing help and needing it badly. It was my privilege to go into various cities that had been almost completely bombed. I remember distinctly one village of 400 buildings, and every one of

them had been bombed or burned. It was impossible to walk down the street and find a place where one could go to seek shelter, let alone a place to sleep. Truly, those people are in need. So it brings up this very important question, What is to be our national policy? Are we to continue the Christian spirit that we have practiced in the past? If that is the policy we have adopted in the United States, then there is no occasion for further debate.

Mr. WHITE. The gentleman would not pursue that policy if it would bankrupt this country, would he?

Mr. ROBERTSON of North Dakota. No. I do not think by pursuing it that you will bankrupt this country. I would like to say further to the gentleman that I believe this policy is one of the great policies this Nation can afford to follow, because we are dealing with the foundation of America's future.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, there are no further requests for time on this side.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. We have no further requests, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I just want to say at this time that I feel very happy because of the speeches made here today on both sides of the aisle. I think we understand the situation perfectly, and I think the country and the world will appreciate that we are trying to do the best we can.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLOOM. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. McCORMACK. I would like to get the viewpoint of the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs on a matter that concerns me very much. Assuming this bill passes, in relation to the appropriation following the passing of the bill, what is the gentleman's opinion as to the necessity for that and the timing of it?

Mr. BLOOM. May I say to the gentleman that if this bill passes the House tomorrow, I think that the Committee on Appropriations should hold hearings immediately in order to get the approval of the Committee on Appropriations of this amount, notwithstanding the fact that the Senate will not yet have passed it, for this reason, that if UNRRA does not receive this appropriation by the 1st of January, it will have to stop, because it will have no funds to work with, for the simple reason that the \$550,000,000 that is being considered for appropriation by the Senate will all be used up by the 1st of January.

So this is most important. If we are going to continue UNRRA and try to save the lives of people all over the world, this legislation and the appropriation will have to be passed by the 1st of January. That is the extreme urgency of it. Does that answer the gentleman's question?

Mr. McCORMACK. It certainly does. I believe the opinion of the chairman of the committee has great importance, and I thought it advisable to get his opinion at this time as to what the effect would be if the appropriation was not made until after we met sometime in January.

Mr. BLOOM. That would be terrible. It would break up the work of UNRRA,

and there would be millions of people starving throughout the world if that was not accomplished at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read the bill for amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Be it enacted, etc., That the joint resolution of March 28, 1944, entitled "Joint resolution to enable the United States to participate in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Organization," is amended in the following respect:

(1) The first section is amended by striking out "\$1,350,000,000" and inserting in lieu thereof "\$2,700,000,000."

(2) Section 9 is amended by striking out "1946" and inserting in lieu thereof "1947."

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I move that the Committee do now rise.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the Committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. SPARKMAN, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that that Committee, having had under consideration the bill (H. R. 4649) to enable the United States to further participate in the work of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, pursuant to House Resolution 444, had come to no resolution thereon.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD immediately after the remarks of the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. HEETER], and to include therein a letter written to the chairman of the Committee on Appropriations [Mr. CANNON] at the time the appropriations for UNRRA were being considered, also a draft of suggested amendments to the UNRRA legislation that were included as a part of that letter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mrs. BOLTON asked and was given permission to extend her remarks in the RECORD.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD and include an article by Dr. Alexander Brin. I am informed by the Public Printer that this will exceed two pages of the RECORD and will cost \$78, but I ask that it be printed notwithstanding that fact.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, notwithstanding the cost, the extension may be made.

There was no objection.

Mr. WHITE asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include certain excerpts.

Mr. WHITE. Mr. Speaker, after considerable time and research I have prepared an article on the resources of the British Empire which includes a number of insertions. I am informed by the Public Printer that this will take 3½ pages of the RECORD and will cost \$182, but I ask unanimous consent that it be printed notwithstanding that fact.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, notwithstanding the cost, the extension may be made.

There was no objection.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of California (at the request of Mr. DOYLE) was given permission to extend her remarks in the RECORD in two instances.

PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, I have a special order to address the House today. The hour is very late and it is storming outside. Out of consideration for the Members of the House, I ask unanimous consent that I may have the same privilege next Wednesday.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. RAMEY asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD and include an address by Dr. Louis R. Wolter, of the Waterville Methodist Church, and in another instance to include an article by Richard Harding Armstrong on uniform divorce and marriage laws appearing in the latest law magazine.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND REMARKS ON UNRRA

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have five legislative days in which they may extend their remarks on UNRRA.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentlewoman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. VURSELL] is recognized for 30 minutes.

THE FEDERAL BALLOT BILL

Mr. VURSELL. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced a bill to amend Public Law 712, Seventy-seventh Congress, as amended, known as the soldier-voting law.

The purpose of the bill, in brief, is to amend the act by striking out title III which provided for the use of what is known in the act as the Federal ballot.

For the benefit of the new Members and to refresh the memory of the Members who were here when the act was passed, you will recall that the Federal ballot bill, sponsored by Senator GREEN, of Rhode Island, and Senator LUCAS, of Illinois, originated in the Senate, was approved by the Senate and sent to the Committee on Elections in the House.

The Committee on Elections in the House disapproved the bill and approved a new bill providing that the soldiers should vote by absentee State ballots. After much debate, the House passed the State ballot bill, which went to a conference of Members of the House and Senate.

At this point I want to pay tribute to the gentleman from Mississippi, Congressman RANKIN, on the majority side of the House for the great patriotic effort he displayed upon the floor of this House time and again leading the fight in what he believed to be not only in the interest of the service people to whom we were trying to extend the vote, but in the interest of preserving to the States, as

the Constitution dedicated that right should be preserved to the States, the right to hold elections. This bill never could have passed in as good form as it did pass had it not been for the great efforts of the gentleman from Mississippi, Congressman RANKIN. I am glad to pay him tribute at this time. I also want to pay tribute to the gentleman from Georgia, Congressman GIBSON and the gentleman from Alabama, Congressman MANASCO, of the majority side of the House, and many of the able men upon the majority side of the House who supported this bill. At this time I want to pay the highest tribute to the gentleman from Oregon, Congressman ELLSWORTH, and to the gentleman from Pennsylvania, Congressman GAVIN, and to the gentleman from Iowa, Congressman Lecompte, and others on the committee who worked painstakingly and long on the conference committee between the House and the Senate.

In the conference there was such insistence on the part of those in the Senate and those in the House who favored the Federal ballot that a compromise was agreed to which provided that those State governments which would authorize the Federal ballot as being legal in their States could give the soldiers a chance of voting either the Federal or State ballot.

The final bill permitted about 20 States to offer both ballots to the servicemen while the governors of 28 States of which my State of Illinois was one, held that the Federal ballot was illegal or unnecessary.

The administration of the act by the War Ballot Commission has proved conclusively that the Federal ballot as a voting instrumentality was a complete failure and that it should now be deleted from the original act.

Now that the war is over this Congress should clean up this statute by taking out of the act the provision for the Federal ballot, because it has proved under a most painstaking administrative test by the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy to be unworkable, and under this test it has been proven that the soldiers did not want and did not make use of the Federal ballot to any considerable extent. The Federal ballot should be stricken from the act because it lays an impossible and an unnecessary burden upon the military services.

Any Member of Congress who will read Senate Document 6, Seventy-ninth Congress, first session, an 81-page report made by the former Secretary of War, Henry L. Stimson, Chairman of the War Ballot Commission, submitted by Robert P. Patterson, Acting Secretary of War, in which he reported to the Congress for all of the military services, cannot escape the conviction that it is the duty of this Congress to amend this act at the earliest possible date.

The Members of the Seventy-eighth Congress, when this bill was before them, were divided in thought. All of them wanted to furnish the best opportunity for the soldiers to vote. Some of them thought that in addition to the regular State absentee ballot which was provided

under one of the bills that the Federal ballot should be included.

Now regardless of how we divided on this question as Members of Congress in the Seventy-eighth Congress I am hopeful in the consideration of this bill in the committee and later on the floor of the House that the Members of this Congress will forget who were right and who were wrong on former legislation and approach this bill strictly on its merits and with the thought as to whether we shall leave this impossible requirement of the Federal ballot on the statute books or whether we will wipe it out, relieve the military services of the tremendous burden of its administration, which action will encourage the States to further amend their laws so that in soldier voting in the future those few States who need to move their primary dates up will know what the permanent law is, and what small changes it will be necessary for them to make in effecting the best absentee-voting possibilities for any of their sons and daughters who may hereafter be or remain in the service.

Mr. ELLSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VURSELL. I yield.

Mr. ELLSWORTH. The gentleman is quite correct in his statement that every member of the committee and every Member of the House had one idea in mind when the soldier-voting bill was under consideration last session. That idea was that we should provide a means for the people in the services to vote. The services, after this law was passed, undertook sincerely and at great cost and with great effort, to provide votes for every person in the services. The States, on their part, when the ballots were cast and the State election machinery came into play, carried out their part of the job very sincerely and used every effort to make the plan successful. As the gentleman has stated, we have the report of the Federal Ballot Commission, which I believe the gentleman will review in his remarks later. This report clearly indicates the futility of the effort to provide a Federal ballot.

I have in my hand a certified copy of a resolution adopted on October 13 by the National Association of Secretaries of State. The secretaries of state are responsible in the several States for the conduct of elections, and they have studied this Federal ballot plan, the soldier vote law, Public Law 712, and have come forth with a recommendation which was made in the form of a resolution at their convention in New Orleans recently. I would like to place the text of this resolution in the RECORD at this point. It reads as follows:

Resolution 2

Whereas the National Association of Secretaries of State convened in session in the city of New Orleans October 11, 12, and 13, 1945, and therein gave full and complete consideration and discussion to the subject of soldier and sailor voting; and

Whereas the several secretaries of state charged with the responsibility of conducting elections in their respective States summarized their experiences in the 1944 elections; and

Whereas the States have amply provided voting facilities for the complete State ballot, which includes Federal as well as State and local offices: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the National Association of Secretaries of State, That this association wishes to express its sincere appreciation to the War Ballot Commission, and the Army, Navy, and Shipping Administration, through its personnel; be it further

Resolved, That the Congress of the United States be informed that by motion duly made, seconded, and carried, the National Association of Secretaries of State recommends that any Federal legislation on servicemen voting be enacted, if at all, not later than March 1, 1946, and that such legislation retain the use of the free air-mail service in transmitting the ballot material to and from the serviceman and the local State election officials, and that such legislation eliminate the use of the Federal ballot.

I hereby certify that I am secretary of the National Association of Secretaries of State, and that the above resolution is a true and correct copy of resolution adopted by the association on October 13, 1945.

WADE O. MARTIN, Jr.,
Secretary.

I think that resolution, coupled with the statements made by the War Ballot Commission and the Secretaries of the Army and Navy, but, most of all, this request to the Congress of the United States by the secretaries of the 48 States, makes it our plain duty to comply with the request made by the secretaries and follow out the recommendation based on the experiences in the 1944 election.

Mr. VURSELL. I thank the gentleman from Oregon. It is truly a very interesting and powerful statement on the part of responsible people, and I am sure the Congress will give a great deal of consideration and attention to that statement.

I urge the Congress to do away with the Federal ballot on the facts contained in the report of former Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson, which he made to the Congress. I feel sure a careful reading of his report will convince you such action should be taken.

Let me read from page 53 of his report, in which he says, and I quote:

In addition to having to provide sufficient Federal balloting units to company levels all over the world to meet an estimated potential of voters in each organization, it was necessary to print and similarly distribute three soldier voting posters in a hundred and forty thousand copies each, 520,000 posters in all. Furthermore, half of each soldier voting manual (and there were 140,000 of them printed) was devoted to the Federal procedure. The time and effort employed by already busy officers and men overseas in the global distribution of these units, posters, manuals, etc., to every company, detachment, and vessel outside of the United States and in the actual administration of title III cannot be readily measured. Perhaps as much as 75 percent of the time employed by overseas soldier voting personnel in voting administration was of necessity spent on the Federal ballot, which was used by less than 2 percent of the soldiers overseas of voting age.

Continuing, he said:

It was estimated by the second largest overseas theater that about 30,000 man-hours were devoted, in addition to regular full-time military duties, to administering the Federal balloting procedure; and in this

theater only 7,154 Federal ballots were executed. And, as stated above, a large percentage of those who voted by Federal ballot later received, voted, and sent in their State absentee ballots, further reducing the effective use of the Federal ballot.

Then he concludes with this most significant statement, and you will note in this statement which I am about to read to you that he does not recommend that the Congress do away with the Federal ballot as a voting instrument. Of course, he would not openly feel that it would be proper for him to so advise Congress. Apparently, however, he goes as far as he can safely go when he says, and I quote:

These facts raise question whether the Federal ballot, as provided under title III of the statute, is of sufficient utility to justify its continuance as a voting procedure in time of war.

You will recall when this bill was up, the Secretary of War favored the Federal ballot. As Chairman of the War Ballot Commission he did a splendid job in administering it and I want to pay the highest compliment to him, the Secretary of the Navy, to Colonel Cutler, Commander Devers, Commander Hays, and others who handled this tremendous task with such efficiency.

But after having administered it the former Secretary of War makes the above statement, which should carry great influence with the Members of Congress in considering the deleting of the Federal ballot from the present statute.

You will note he says that in one theater, after the voting officers had performed their regular duties, that it was estimated they then put in over 30,000 man-hours in attempting to get these short Federal ballots to the voters and get them voted, with the pitiful results that out of the second largest overseas theater less than 7,154 of these ballots were voted.

May I point out to the Members of the House that his report also shows that one voting officer was appointed for each company command or for like rank in other services? The voting occurred when the fighting all over the world was intense, when we were crossing the English Channel, for instance, and fighting through northern France and establishing beach heads for the invasion in southern France in the European theater, yet 150,000 soldiers were compelled to waste their time and endanger their lives, and many of them were wounded and lost their lives in crawling from fox hole to fox hole and going from one front to the other with this Federal ballot so that the soldier might have it personally delivered to him where he could personally vote it. I venture to say few, if any, Congressmen who will read this report will insist on retaining this Federal ballot, and I venture the assertion that had they known that the enactment of this law would have caused the loss of lives and the wounding of soldiers unnecessarily, none of them would have voted for it.

Mr. Speaker, at this point I want to place in the RECORD a table showing the number of potential voters and some remarks taken from pages 51 and 52 of the

former Secretary of War Stimson's report on the administration of voting in the last election to the Congress of the United States:

[From the report of Secretary of War Stimson]

COMMENT ON FEDERAL BALLOTING PROCEDURE PROVIDED UNDER TITLE III

23. Attention is invited to the insignificant use by soldiers, and by servicemen generally, of the Federal ballot:

Estimated total personnel of Army, Navy, and merchant marine of voting age overseas.....	4,900,000
Total Federal ballots executed overseas and transmitted to the United States by such personnel (includes a few "attached civilians").....	108,691
Less: Ballots received too late to be counted, executed by voters from nonauthorizing States, prematurely voted, or otherwise not effective.....	9,868
	98,823

Thus, only 2 percent of the soldiers of voting age overseas from all States took opportunity to request and execute a Federal ballot.

I want to particularly call your attention to the second table, which shows that of 10 States authorizing the use of the Federal ballot where the soldier had his selection as to whether he would use the State ballot or the Federal ballot, 446,974 chose the long ballot, or State ballot, whereas only 28,136 voted the short, or Federal, ballot:

	10 States authorizing use of Federal ballots	10 States not authorizing use of Federal ballots	Total
State absentee ballots.....	446,974	1,086,968	1,533,942
Federal ballots.....	28,136	28,136

Combining this with the fact that former Secretary of War Stimson makes the bold statement that less than 2 percent of the soldiers overseas who were eligible to vote used the Federal ballot ought to be sufficient evidence without going any further to prove the case for its speedy demise.

Let me read further from former Secretary of War Stimson's report, which you will find on page 55, and I quote:

The Army encountered all the difficulties which the Congress anticipated. But commanders did not seek to avoid the task because it was hard or dangerous. They made extraordinary efforts to provide voting opportunities to all persons under Army jurisdiction, despite adversities of battle, weather, and geography. In overseas theaters, involved in major military operations—France, Italy, Southwest Pacific, Philippine Islands, China, Burma—the decisions of local commanders were conclusive as to what was practicable and compatible with military operations in their respective areas.

The greatest obstacles to practical administration related naturally to battle conditions—the fluidity of fighting personnel, the enormous confusion of combat, the concentration of all energies and all means of communication in the struggle. Some idea of these inherent complications are reflected in

General Eisenhower's report to the War Department.

I hope every Member of Congress will read General Eisenhower's report to Secretary of War Stimson. He tells how it was necessary for his men to crawl from fox hole to fox hole under enemy artillery, mortar, and small-arms fire while delivering official war ballots to personnel engaged in combat. How the men became casualties, lost their lives, and how other untrained officers had to carry on.

I quote General Eisenhower:

The administration of Public Law 277 * * * was carried out under very difficult periods of operation in this theater. The first phase was conducted during the period on the beachhead just prior to the break-through and envelopment of the south flank of the enemy forces in the Caen-Argentan area, and while part of the command was astride the English Channel en route from United Kingdom or staging to debark from United Kingdom.

The second phase was the pursuit from the Caen-Argentan area with the occupation of Paris and Channel ports and contact with enemy forces on the Maginot line.

The third phase or Federal balloting period was during the reorganization, attack, and passage through the Maginot line, and the organization and attack of the Siegfried line.

Headquarters European theater of operations moved to the Continent by echelons, and at the same time kept increasing by activation of new units in the form of base sections and control missions from existing installations in the United Kingdom. It was necessary to establish different headquarters and new commands at the same time movement was in progress. This, at times, rendered difficult the prompt dissemination of information and maintenance of close liaison in soldier voting by various echelons.

The greatest difficulty encountered by the major commands was in keeping in touch with units such as quartermaster, signal, engineers, medical, and other types of companies which were divided into sections and platoons and widely separated due to combat operations. The same is true of the Air Force with their wide dispersion of units, attachment to front-line commands, with the remainder of the Air Force located throughout France, Belgium, Holland, and the United Kingdom. These units were continually on the move and failed to receive official communications sent to them with reference to soldier voting. The supply of this material could only be maintained by personal contact direct with the various headquarters sections and units by soldier-voting officers. Units had to be oriented and new directives issued to them, then they would probably move on again to another major command. At one time advance section of the communication zone had originally assigned and attached to it over 1,200 units, with a total strength of 200,000 troops scattered over a tremendous geographical area.

The primary concern of this command has been to make certain that each officer and soldier had an opportunity to vote. It has been necessary in many instances for voting officers and others to crawl from fox hole to fox hole under enemy artillery, mortar, and small-arms fire while delivering official war ballots to personnel engaged in combat. Soldier voting officers of units engaged in combat became casualties and other officers had to be appointed and instructed under difficult conditions. In some instances this left the distribution of ballots to first sergeants or any other officer picked on the spot, who had no opportunity to read the regulations applying to soldier voting due to the intensity of combat and rapidity of movement.

Again quoting from the report:

There were also difficulties, not directly related to combat, which were encountered all over the world. Outposts in northern Greenland were frozen in, except during the summer months, and could not be reached for Federal balloting. A small detachment above the Arctic Circle was able to receive vital supplies and medicines dropped by plane, but could send nothing out. Still other small detachments, like one in the inaccessible mountains of southwest China, had no contact with the outer world at all except by radio. Where such isolated and remote groups could be reached, it was necessary for voting officers to go by plane, by boat, by tractor, and on foot. The distances to be traveled were very great; more than a thousand miles up the Amazon; to isolated islands in the south Atlantic; throughout the Aleutians; to Burma, the Ukraine, West Africa, Iran, New Zealand. These problems of distance and weather and other difficulties are illustrated in the report from the China-Burma-India theater.

Again, on page 57 of the Stimson report, he relates how a voting officer taking executed ballots to an Army post office at the European front was killed by enemy fire. The records of a voting officer in the Southwest Pacific were obliterated by the explosion of a hostile bomb. A sudden German counterattack engulfed an American detachment in France on the day designated for Federal balloting, captured the balloting supplies and took prisoner some of the voters. Even in noncombat zones one theater soldier voting officer was killed and another was gravely injured in two airplane crashes while engaged in getting the ballots to the soldiers.

Let me try to bring home to the Members of the House just how serious this Federal ballot law proved to be. Men were killed and wounded trying to administer the Federal ballot, and out of 4,900,000 men of voting age in the armed services only about 80,000 of them voted this ballot. Out of the millions who voted the absentee ballot, there is no record that any American soldier lost his life in the operation of the State absentee ballot. This raises a question, in my judgment, that will cause the Members of Congress to want to clean up this situation and to take this iniquitous law off the statute books.

Here is what happened at Guam, and again I quote from the report:

The floating docks had broken apart, making passage in the small harbor dangerous. The vessel was not allowed close to shore and no one was permitted to go ashore except those with very urgent business. The voting officer had some executed Federal ballots which had to be mailed because the contemplated next step would be at a date too late to have the ballots arrive within the United States on time. He managed to get permission to go ashore to mail the ballots. The motor on the launch gave out, the rudder broke away, and the open launch became swamped. It was after the few passengers took to the oars that they were able to beach the launch without further mishap or personal injury. At this time Guam was not yet completely secure and, as the post office was not at the seaside, it was necessary for the voting officer to be escorted through the jungle trail by an armed guard to the post office at the airfield.

At this point may I raise the question, was this sacrifice and danger encountered worth it?

Mr. Stimson gives in his report an account of voting officers going thousands of miles up the Amazon to personally deliver a few Federal ballots; to islands in the Caribbean, and by airplane over the Himalaya Mountains to small groups in China where they could reach them. To Greenland on the Arctic Circle, and to the terrible climate of the Aleutians, endangering the lives of men trying to carry out the law prescribed by this Congress to personally give an opportunity for them to vote the Federal ballot, when any of them who wanted to vote could have the complete State ballot mailed directly to them only upon their request.

I referred to just a few incidents out of his report as to the impossibilities and the terrible danger to human life in the administration of the Federal ballot. I did this because the lives of our soldiers were, and are, more important than the cost of the administration of this act, and before passing on to the cost of the administration and other phases of the act I would like to make the statement that the voting of 80,000 of these Federal ballots is not worth the life of one single American soldier which this act caused to be unnecessarily lost, and the unfortunate thing of it is that many of them were killed and wounded in trying personally to get this Federal ballot to the men on the lines of combat.

Now, just briefly let me refer to the expenses and difficulties of the administration of this act. The total printing expense according to former Secretary of War Stimson's report was about \$115,000. This amounts to practically nothing compared with the general overall expense it required of 150,000 voting officers who, during the voting time, spent over 75 percent of their time at such duties. The expense of the telephone and communications generally was enormous. The use and cost of hundreds of planes and ships was enormous. Undoubtedly if all of the expense of administering this act was paid at commercial rates and salaries, it would run into countless millions of dollars, and the net result was about 80,000 ballots cast. All soldiers could and would have used the complete State ballot at practically no cost or effort.

For the Federal ballot alone there were printed 9,400,000 ballots, 9,400,000 outer envelopes, 9,400,000 inner envelopes, and because of atmospheric conditions it was necessary that they be packed in ballot units in water-resistant cartons. The military services ordered and were furnished 7,600,000 of these water-resistant cartons.

To get this material out, orders were placed with 9 envelope factories, 4 in Chicago and 5 in New York. And, in order to supply the overseas voters of the 20 States permitting the use of the Federal ballot, it was necessary to have printed and sent out 520,000 big posters which carried the names of nearly 500 Congressmen and Senators. These thousands of posters of necessity had to spread out to every service command all over the world to reach the American troops because some few men were likely to be serving from each of these States which permitted the use of the Federal ballot.

In addition there was printed 140,000 soldier voting instruction manuals which were likewise distributed and then there were millions of other pieces of literature plus radiograms and various other expensive communications. Animated movies calling to servicemen's attention general voting procedures were purchased and were used and shown overseas thousands of times to millions of soldiers and sailors. Voting booths or places to vote were provided on land and on sea all over the world for the use of those who cared to vote the Federal ballot.

Yet, notwithstanding all of the expense and this colossal task placed upon the Army and Navy when they were fighting a war to protect the very life of this Nation and all of the publicity and advertising it was necessary for the services to do to give the men overseas the best opportunity to know who were running for Congress and the Presidency and in addition, the hardships the 150,000 soldiers went through, the loss of the lives of men and many of them wounded, the pitiful result was that only 2.2 percent of the voters who had an opportunity to vote the Federal ballot voted it.

Mr. Speaker, I cannot believe that Congress will continue this mistake. That is why I have offered this bill to correct it. There will probably be something over a million men in the service in the future in peacetime. Their movement will not be so fluid naturally as in times of war. Communications carrying to them the news of the home front will not be disturbed. Those who are overseas will be able to keep in close contact with our Government at home. Mail addressed to them will reach them more promptly than ever before. Many of them will want to vote in the future and they will have abundant time in which to procure the regular State absentee ballot containing all of the names so that they may cast an intelligent vote. When the Federal ballot is stricken from the statute there are a few States which will probably make their laws to better conform to the voting of absentee ballots.

There is nothing at stake now of a political nature. We are not in a campaign and can approach this legislation in the best interest of all who will be effected. I hope the chairman of the Committee on Elections will call an early meeting for the consideration of this bill and I have every confidence that he will. I hope and believe all of the Members of the House will approach this legislation without any thought of who was right or wrong when it was placed on the statute books in the Seventy-eighth Congress, but with the impelling thought that we shall forget the past and strike the Federal ballot from the statute books which has proved itself expensive, very difficult of administration, which has cost the lives of some of our boys in the past and may cost the lives of others in the future.

Mr. RAMEY. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VURSELL. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. RAMEY. The gentleman referred to the long ballot and the short ballot.

Mr. VURSELL. Yes; that is the State ballot and the Federal ballot.

Mr. RAMEY. That is, the so-called Federal ballot was the one that had blanks, no names?

Mr. VURSELL. That is right.

Mr. RAMEY. Whereas the long ballot that most of them voted was the ballot containing the names of the candidate of every party from President and Governor clear on down to coroner?

Mr. VURSELL. Yes.

Mr. RAMEY. That gave them an opportunity for a complete vote?

Mr. VURSELL. That is right.

Mr. ELLSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. VURSELL. I yield to the gentleman from Oregon.

Mr. ELLSWORTH. As I understand the gentleman's bill, only the Federal-ballot provisions in the previous law will be removed and all of the other provisions for expediting soldier voting under the State absentee-ballot laws are left in the law; is that correct?

Mr. VURSELL. That is correct.

Mr. ELLSWORTH. Would the passage of the gentleman's bill do away with all of these hazards that he has just mentioned?

Mr. VURSELL. That is right.

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. REES] is recognized for 10 minutes.

DISCHARGE SERVICEWOMEN FROM THE ARMED FORCES

Mr. REES of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, today I have introduced a bill which provides for the discharge of all Wacs, Waves, Spars, and women Marines, except those who are directly engaged in activities in Army and Navy hospitals and those who are performing duties connected with the discharge of servicemen at separation centers.

The women of our armed forces who volunteered their services during the war have done a magnificent job. The work was difficult; the hours were long, and the discipline was severe. Now, their job is finished. The argument no longer prevails that the women's reserves of the armed forces are needed in order to relieve men for combat service. They ought not to be required to remain in the armed forces. Continuation of the women's reserves is a useless and unnecessary drain upon the public treasury. They should be discharged immediately and thereby save the taxpayers millions of dollars.

The present laws establishing the women's reserves authorizes their continuation in the armed forces until 6 months after the declaration of the end of the war emergency. When this declaration will come, no one knows. If our reconversion processes are to be retarded because of the lack of such a declaration, it will interfere materially with the return of our country to a normal peacetime economy. Servicewomen in the armed forces are not necessary as a part of the reconversion process. As a matter of fact, they are most essentially a part of our civilian life. I am besieged on all sides by requests from our servicewomen that they be discharged. The progress which our Army and Navy is making toward their discharge is totally inadequate and, therefore, because of this ap-

parent reluctance to speed up discharges of servicewomen, I have found it necessary to introduce this legislation. The hypothetical basis upon which servicewomen are being discharged today—approximately 1 servicewoman to every 10 servicemen—is a ridiculous formula and should be discontinued immediately.

Recent statistics show that there are about 75,000 Women's Reserves in the United States Navy, and approximately 70,000 Wacs in the United States Army. It is obvious that the rate of discharge since the end of the war has been too slow.

Mr. Speaker, many services now performed by women in the armed forces that are really needed can be carried on by women or men qualified under civil service. If any servicewomen want to continue in the jobs they now hold where such jobs are necessary, or if they want to qualify for other civil-service positions, they will have the advantage of veterans' preference for such positions, but they certainly will not be compelled to stay on the job as is now being done. I think there are a number of assignments held by servicewomen that are not now required since the war is over. For example, I do not think it is necessary to keep hundreds of women in service, namely, in Washington, whose chief responsibility is that of driving automobiles for Army officers. Now that hostilities have ceased, surely most of them can drive their own cars. If not, then there are plenty of ex-servicemen who will be glad to handle the job.

The bill which I have introduced provides that some of the Women's Reserves shall be retained in order to assist in work at hospitals and in connection with the discharge of servicemen at separation centers. I believe that these activities are most vital at the present time, and with respect to them the Army and Navy should not be placed under any handicap whatsoever. However, after such important work is completed, I will further advocate that servicewomen so engaged shall be discharged at the earliest possible date.

The dictatorship governments of the world regimented their womanhood into their military machines. During wartime it might have been necessary for us to follow such procedure. I shall, however, actively oppose a national policy of the United States, if such proposal is submitted, which provides for the retention of servicewomen as a part of our military machine in time of peace.

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Rhode Island [Mr. FOGARTY] is recognized for 15 minutes.

ISLAND OF RHODE ISLAND PROPOSED AS IDEAL FOR PERMANENT HOME OF UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Speaker, there has been a great deal of discussion about a cite for the permanent home for the United Nations Organization. The committee which will recommend a definite site is now meeting in London. It is not yet known for a certainty that the permanent home of this great hope of mankind will be located in the United States. However, a national publication in which many of us have a great deal of confi-

dence, on Monday of this week, expressed the belief that the committee would recommend that the permanent home of the United Nations Organization be located on the eastern coast of the United States. This expression of opinion leads me to tell you about the ideal spot for locating this great international organization.

I am aware of the efforts being made by officials of Boston, Philadelphia and other cities to bring the headquarters of the United Nations Organization to the United States. I know these cities are sincere in their offers to provide a home for the great organization whose purpose is permanent peace among all men. I am confident that all these cities, although fervent in their hope that they will be permitted to provide a haven for UNO, are more concerned with providing for this great institution the best that is available. For that reason I suggest that it would be far more purposeful of Boston, Philadelphia, and the other cities on the eastern seaboard if the officials of these cities would lend their support to the suggestion which I have already made—that the permanent home of the United Nations Organization be located on the "Isle of Peace."

The very name of this beautiful isle suggests that here mankind's great hope could find the atmosphere in which to do its best work. The Organization would commence its deliberations under the most magnificent of auspices. Nature and history combine to provide an enthusiasm which will help in great measure to enable the representatives of peoples all over the world to work out a formula that will provide for us, for our children and our children's children, an era of peace and prosperity, an era marked by the cooperation of all peoples, an era which will prove that it is possible for man to live with his brother, an era which will witness the outlawing of armed aggression as an instrument of national policy.

Such an era is a lot to expect. It sounds like a dream of utopia. It can be had if we are willing to strive hard enough to achieve it. The success or failure of our efforts in that respect will be determined in a large measure by the men and women who will come here to represent the various peoples of the earth when the United Nations Organization has become a real fact—when it is set up and operating in the home which it is to have for its deliberations.

Because there is to be so great a reliance on the deliberations of these national representatives, it is no more than fitting that we provide for their work the very best we have to offer.

For this reason I ask your support of my suggestion that the permanent home of the UNO be established on the Isle of Peace. Here there is all the beauty of Mother Nature coupled with historical tradition which will fortify any man in his fight for real democracy. Taking up arms for freedom long before 1776, the early settlers of the Isle of Peace struck the blows which echoed throughout the Colonies and resulted in the later establishment of the Continental Congress. Bloody battles were fought on this Isle of Peace, bloody battles which foretold

the courage and bravery of the Minute Men of Cambridge and their brothers throughout the Colonies in America's first fight for freedom and democracy.

The Isle of Peace was early recognized as a haven for the members of all religion. First visited by the Vikings who left their monuments which still stand as evidence of this island's relations with the rest of the world, the Isle of Peace has provided refuge for the oppressed of many lands.

Her lush green fields inviting rest and recreation; the blue waters of the Atlantic providing at once the soothing tranquillity of the sea and a challenge to all men brave enough to go down to the sea and fight her storms, the Isle of Peace possesses beauty to be found nowhere else in America.

Here there are miles of ocean front where the mighty—and sometimes violent—Atlantic batters at the granite cliffs which serve as a shield along part of Newport shore line. Here are deep, quiet harbors where vessels, from cabin cruisers to the largest carrier or battleship afloat can find a safe anchorage.

Here are the most beautiful beaches on the eastern shore to provide relaxation and surcease from the cares of the day. Here is the cliff walk, extending for 10 miles along the very edge of the sea. Here are mile after mile of beautiful country lanes and roads inviting every visitor to explore the magnificent features of an island which cannot be duplicated anywhere in the world.

This beautiful land was called the Isle of Aquidneck by the Narragansett Indians. Its name means peace. By early English navigators, overcome by its beauty, it was called the Island of Rhodes and from this island the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations takes its name.

The first spot in the New World to pronounce and maintain religious liberty, Rhode Island was also the first spot in the New World to promulgate a bill of rights protecting individual liberty. As early as 1663 Rhode Island had obtained a charter, unique in the then known world, which provided as its purpose "that a most flourishing civil state might live and best be maintained with full liberty in religious concerns."

Here is a background of freedom and democracy which will serve as a splendid foundation upon which to build the future peace and security of the nations of this world. Here is the ideal environment wherein men and women dedicated to peace can work out the many and varied problems which will beset their paths. With a tradition rich in culture the island of Rhode Island offers to the United Nations Organization its best hope for complete success.

Permit me to explain very briefly why I believe this most beautiful spot is ideal for this purpose.

We can all agree that our United States is the ideal location. Then why the island of Rhode Island any more than another place? In brief, because the island of Rhode Island offers every facility which can be provided by other cities and areas in the country—and the island of Rhode Island has none of the

disadvantages under which these other locations must suffer.

A short ride by automobile, boat, train, or plane from all the principal civic centers on the eastern coast and the Middle West—this beautiful island can provide the maximum of political and mercantile contacts, all manner of educational facilities, every form of entertainment, and yet it provides within itself the optimum of peace and tranquillity. Its climate has been characterized by Dr. Ellsworth Huntington, of Yale, as the best in the United States. The Boston Herald termed it better than California or the Riviera, and Dr. William C. Rives, of Washington in 1910 referred to the remarkable natural healthfulness of Newport's climate.

Newport has always been a great naval base. It has been proposed as the summer Capital of the United States. Scarcely any international figure has come to our country who has not enjoyed the cool breezes wafted in off the Atlantic to cool the hills and fields of Newport. It has been for several generations the summer playground of the United States. In the three winter months of the year the average temperature is not below 32°.

Millions have been spent in erecting elaborate estates. These mansions, which contain from 18 to 113 rooms, are now available to the United Nations Organization for offices, libraries, or living quarters. Several have already been tendered to the executive committee at London. In addition, there are acres and acres of land available for new buildings. Hence, there will be no need for delay while buildings are erected, while facilities are installed. In Newport, R. I., the United Nations Organization will find a progressive community, proud of its history, conscious of its obligations as host to this great international organization. There will be nothing lacking in Newport's endeavor to accommodate the men and women from all the great nations of the world. These representatives of other lands will find in Newport the exemplification of everything grand, everything fine. In short, they will find the ideal American city. They will learn at a glance why we Americans are so proud of our homeland.

I ask your assistance. We want the United Nations Organization in my Rhode Island. If this organization is to come to the United States I think you will want it housed in the finest spot in America. I am sure you would not want the organization encumbered and inconvenienced by all the handicaps it will find in the big cities—cities which lack adequate office space, adequate housing, adequate educational facilities, adequate recreational facilities even to care properly for their present populations. It is my sincere belief that you would prefer Newport for the United Nations Organization. We want each of you to come to Rhode Island. I hope you can come to our beautiful State to see what we have to offer to the United Nations Organization. I hope you will see this great international organization in operation in our State, then I know you

will agree with the late Richard Washburn Child who said of Newport:

Places have flavor. Some have a past. Some give forth a sense of permanence and peace—of creative yesterdays and a creative future. Some make life personal, so that all human beings are invested with an absorbing aliveness; in contrast to those where modern life has made cardboard figures of humanity. Newport is a place where persons are persons "on their own."

The island geography and the Gulf Stream make the climate like Bermuda. Autumn lingers deliciously until the New Year's egg-nog. We have the eternally whimsical sea and the over-luxuriant land. We sail, we fish, we swim, we play tennis. Folks drop in for tea, and the affairs of the Nation are discussed. Newport is so constantly and intimately in touch, through brains, American and foreign, with the world! And yet we do see the sky, and the mist, the rain, the garden, the rainbow and the sunset.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. CURLEY (at the request of Mr. FOGARTY) was given permission to extend his remarks by including an address by Archbishop Cushing of Boston at the memorial mass of the One Hundred and First Infantry veterans at the Cathedral of the Holy Cross.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to Mr. HOEVEN, for the balance of the week, on account of illness.

SENATE BILL REFERRED

A bill of the Senate of the following title was taken from the Speaker's table and, under the rule, referred as follows:

S. 1580. An act to provide for the appointment of representatives of the United States in the organs and agencies of the United Nations, and to make other provision with respect to the participation of the United States in such organization; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

SENATE ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

The SPEAKER announced his signature to enrolled bills of the Senate of the following titles:

S. 684. An act for the relief of Ida M. Raney;

S. 779. An act for the relief of Mrs. Alan Sells and the estate of Alan Sells;

S. 998. An act for the relief of Gregory Stelmak;

S. 1017. An act for the relief of Charlie B. Rouse and Mrs. Louette Rouse;

S. 1117. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Navy to convey Casa Dorinda Estate in Santa Barbara County, Calif., to Robert Woods Bliss and Mildred B. Bliss; and

S. 1122. An act for the relief of Charles Bryan.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. KELLY of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 5 o'clock and 42 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until tomorrow, Thursday, December 6, 1945, at 12 o'clock noon.

COMMITTEE HEARINGS

COMMITTEE ON THE CENSUS

The Committee on the Census will hold a hearing at 10 a. m. on Thursday, December 6, 1945, on H. R. 4781, in room 1414, New House Office Building.

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND
NATURALIZATION

The Committee on Immigration and Naturalization will have an executive meeting on Thursday, December 6, 1945, at 10:30 a. m., in room 446, Old House Office Building.

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

The Special Subcommittee on Bankruptcy and Reorganization of the Committee on the Judiciary has scheduled a hearing to begin at 10 a. m. on Friday, December 7, 1945, on the bill, H. R. 4779, to enable debtor railroad corporations, whose properties during a period of 7 years have provided sufficient earnings to pay fixed charges, to effect a readjustment of their financial structure without further proceedings under section 77 of the Bankruptcy Act, as amended. The hearing will be held in the Judiciary Committee room, 346 House Office Building.

COMMITTEE ON INVALID PENSIONS

The Committee on Invalid Pensions will have an executive meeting on Tuesday, December 11, 1945, at 10:30 a. m., in room 247, Old House Office Building.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

854. Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, a letter from the Attorney General, transmitting a report (list No. 1) reciting the facts and pertinent provisions of law in the cases of two individuals whose deportation has been suspended for more than 6 months by his immediate predecessor, Attorney General Biddle, and a report (list No. 2) of the cases of 145 individuals whose deportation has been suspended for more than 6 months by the Commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service under the authority vested in the Attorney General, together with a statement of the reason for such suspension; was taken from the Speaker's table and referred to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC
BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. WHITTINGTON: Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments. S. 380. An act to establish a national policy and program for assuring continuing full employment and full production in a free competitive economy, through the concerted efforts of industry, agriculture, labor, State and local governments, and the Federal Government; with amendment (Rept. No. 1334). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PRIVATE
BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar as follows:

Mr. MASON: Committee on Immigration and Naturalization. H. R. 3573. A bill for the relief of George Pathy; without amendment (Rept. No. 1333). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BRADLEY of Michigan:

H. R. 4907. A bill to provide for the conveyance of Fort Brady, in Chippewa County, Mich., to the city of Sault Ste. Marie; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

By Mrs. NORTON:

H. R. 4908. A bill to provide for the appointment of fact-finding boards to investigate labor disputes seriously affecting the national public interest, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Labor.

By Mr. REES of Kansas:

H. R. 4909. A bill to provide for the discharge of members of the Women's Reserves of the armed forces; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. O'BRIEN of Michigan:

H. J. Res. 283. Joint resolution authorizing postage stamp commemorating the victorious defense of the island of Malta; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

By Mr. TOLAN:

H. J. Res. 284. Joint resolution to amend the act entitled "Compensation for injury, death, or detention of employees of contractors with the United States outside the United States", as amended, for the purpose of making the 100-percent earning provisions effective as of January 1, 1942; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII,

Mr. REED of Illinois introduced a bill (H. R. 4910) for the relief of Harry G. Weaver; which was referred to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

1372. By Mr. HARNESSE of Indiana: Petition of 233 citizens of Anderson, Ind., urging passage of legislation directing the immediate release from the armed forces of all men and women who have had 2 years or more of active duty, and who have served any part of such period overseas; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

1373. Also petition of 131 members of the Farm Bureau Cooperative Association of Huntington, Ind., opposing universal military training in peacetime; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

1374. Also, petition of 33 residents of the community of Upland, Ind., opposing universal military training in peacetime; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

1375. Also, petition of 15 employees of the Highway Department of Grant County, Ind., opposing universal military training in peacetime; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

1376. By Mr. HAVENNER: petition of Ladies of the Grand Army of the Republic of Northern California, urging support of Senate Joint Resolution 50, which authorizes the acquisition of Temple Heights, Washington, D. C., for a recreation center for Government employees during the war and for erection of a Civil War memorial thereafter; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

1377. By the SPEAKER: Petition of the City Council of the City of Gary, Ind., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to endorsement of the Wagner-Ellender-Taft general housing bill; to the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds.

1378. Also, petition of Harry Bortin, Washington, D. C., and others, petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to revision of Senate Joint Resolution 69; to

the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

1379. Also, petition of the Lions Club of Daytona Beach, Fla., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to the granting of loans and credits by the Government of the United States to foreign nations; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

1380. Also, petition of Local 195, Journeymen Tailors' Union, petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to House Resolution 376; to the Committee on Rules.

1381. Also, petition of the Aluminum Co. of America, petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to their reply to the report of the Attorney General dated September 11, 1945; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

SENATE

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1945

(Legislative day of Monday, October 29, 1945)

The Senate met at 12 o'clock meridian, on the expiration of the recess.

The Chaplain, Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Most gracious God, our Father, we give Thee thanks for the exceeding great inheritance by which the life of our generation has been enriched; yet we bewail with shuddering shame that the mastered and harnessed powers of nature which could lift mankind to the serene heights of the good life have been used to debase and destroy. We pray that with changed hearts those of the present, to whose hands the keys of the future have been entrusted, with a wisdom whose beginning is penitence, may use the knowledge now vouchsafed to the race as a sacred stewardship for all mankind. In a violent day when a molten earth is being poured into new moulds enable those who think and speak and act here as chosen servants of the Nation to continue steadily in the undaunted company of those who, having tasted of the power of a saner and fairer earth, can never be satisfied with the world as it is but who are patiently and steadfastly devoted to the world which is to be.

In the Redeemer's name, we ask it. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. HILL, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of the calendar day Wednesday, December 5, 1945, was dispensed with, and the Journal was approved.

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE — ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION SIGNED

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Swanson, one of its reading clerks, announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the following enrolled bills and joint resolution, and they were signed by the President pro tempore:

S. 684. An act for the relief of Ida M. Raney;

S. 693. An act for the relief of the Saunders Memorial Hospital;